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# THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

EDITED BY

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VOL. III.

JULY, 1840—JANUARY, 1841

24922



737.05

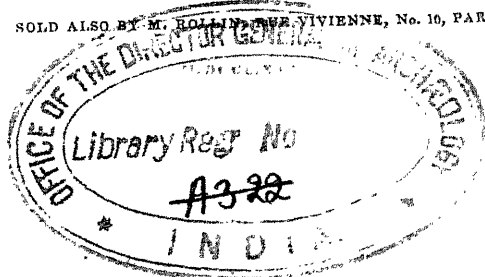
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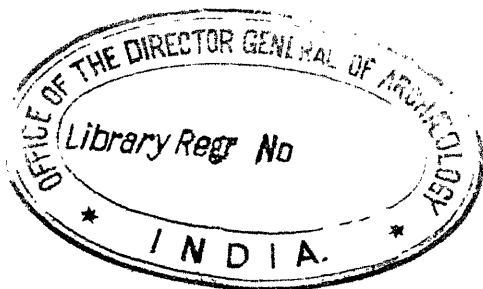
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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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Officers of the Society for 1840-41, p. 129.

Arrangement of the Society with the Editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 130.



# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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## I.

### ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CELTIBERIAN ALPHABET, AND ON THE MEANING OF SOME OF THE CHARACTERS THAT COMPOSE IT.

[From the *Revue Numismatique* for February. Read before the Num. Soc.]

THE characters commonly termed *Celtiberian* seem to possess a Phenician origin.

The writing observable on the autonomous coins of Spain, proceeds, in most instances, from the left to the right, like the writing of Eastern nations, and of the Ethiopians. The form also of the Celtiberian characters bears evidence of very ancient transmission of the Phenician alphabet, at a period when as yet the form of the Phenician letters had undergone no alteration.

We can, then, without fear of being charged with rashness, acknowledge the Phenician origin of the two species of writing; viz., that from the left to right, and that from the right to left; and perhaps, also, of the boustrophedon kind.

Without doubt this conclusion seems at open variance with all the Phenician inscriptions that we are in possession of: but we are not ignorant of the fact of the inscriptions that we are acquainted with being all of a comparatively recent epoch; not one of them can be shewn to ascend beyond the fourth century before the Christian era.<sup>1</sup>

The learned M. Gesenius, in his *Concordant Table of Alphabets* derived from the Phenician, has admitted the alphabet commonly termed Celtiberian, but, by some inex-

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<sup>1</sup> Gesenius.



plicable chance, his connections are almost all inexact. There are very few letters in the Spanish inscriptions to which we can allow the meanings he has assigned them. These mistakes will doubtless add to the discredit into which this alphabet has fallen.

The first man of ability who set seriously to work on this subject, was Velasquez, who, in 1752, published his "Essay on the Inscriptions in Unknown Letters on the Medallie Monuments of Spain;"<sup>2</sup> but he adopted a bad method. Struck by the analogy of the primitive Spanish alphabets with the ancient Greek or Phenician characters, he has ventured, solely upon that analogy, to decide the meaning of the letters, apart from the inscriptions which these letters were destined to explain, and has, in consequence applied these arbitrary significations to the interpretation of the inscriptions, the result of which has been nothing but incorrect readings. Moreover, Velasquez, resting on the analogy of the primitive Greek with the Spanish, has thence inferred the resemblance of the languages, and has wished to interpret the ancient Celtiberian characters by the Greek, which has only led to inconsistent and absurd results. Eckhel, who in general had but little relish for palæographic researches, has availed himself of this tendency of the system of Velasquez to condemn the work altogether.

The failure of Velasquez frightened other learned men, such as Florez, who had entered upon the study of the medals of Spain. Perez Bayer would have been capable of making a real progress in the knowledge of the Celtiberian characters, but he paid little attention to the subject. In short, from Eckhel to Sestini, no one has entered upon the research. Sestini, after half a century's silence, has pub-

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<sup>2</sup> Ensayo sobre los alfabetos de las letras desconocidas que se encuentran en las mas antiguas medallas y monumentos de España, Madrid, 1752, in 4to.

lished a work, apparently a complete one, on these inscriptions;<sup>3</sup> but this work bears all the marks of superficiality and inconclusiveness. Sometimes we see five or six different forms assigned to a single articulation; sometimes five or six articulations are represented by a single letter; for the reading of any new coin that Sestini brings forward, he has a new alphabet at his command. Numismatists in general have passed a severe sentence on this work, and this sentence has been confirmed by a weighty authority—that of William de Humboldt, in his work on the ancient Spanish tongue.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, I am far from giving a sweeping condemnation of the labours that have had for their object the restoration of the Celtiberian alphabet. The chief obstacle to the understanding of that writing arises from the ignorance we are in with regard to the language of the ancient Spaniards. William de Humboldt has made some happy applications of the Basque tongue to the names of different places of ancient Spain; but it is sufficient to read his book, to see that these applications, although very ingenious, do not apply to the words explained. It is with the ancient Spanish inscriptions as with the Etruscan, of which up to the present hour the interpretation is imperfect, because we know nothing of the ancient language of the Etruscans.

What are the legends of the Celtiberian money? Are they the names of places, of chiefs, or of divinities? This question cannot be decided *a priori*, and we are liable, like the ape in the fable, to take the Piræus for a man's name. Are they a series of initials, or of abbreviated words? All these surmises suggest themselves before we engage in deciphering a legend in an unknown alphabet and language:

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<sup>3</sup> Descrizione delle medaglie spagnuole, etc., 1818, in 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens vermittelt der Vaskischen Sprache, Berlin, 1821, in 4to.

and, lastly, are we quite certain of the transcription of the Spanish names, such as have been handed down to us through the medium of the Greeks and Romans, who usually sacrificed correctness to sound?

We can form some notion of the obstacles opposed to the reading of Celtiberian legends by what happens in regard to the Phenician, the language of which is not, however, unknown to us, though we have not been able to comprehend it sufficiently to identify the localities from whence the medals come. What difficulties, therefore, must the Celtiberian legends present to us, both the alphabet and language of which we are ignorant of!

There are, however, medals which present on one side a Latin name and on the other a Celtiberian. Undoubtedly, as Velasquez remarks, the Celtiberian inscription is not always equivalent to the Latin inscription; but it may be so, and when this coincidence occurs, the comparison must produce a good result. The result will be almost certain, if on the one side the Latin transcription has been made faithfully, without detriment to the laws of sound; and if on the other, the similitude,—which cannot be denied to exist between the characters called Celtiberian and the primitive Greek characters, or the Phenician,—should combine to facilitate the solution. Under this latter point of view the indication given by Velasquez is incontestible. There are, indeed, some letters quite different from the Phenician, but discrepancies of the same nature are met with in other graphic systems, which are evidently of a Phenician origin; without doubt these were purposely constructed for pronunciations foreign to the Phenician, and such as were used by the ancient Celtiberians; or if these letters are numerous, they may be looked upon as the fragments of another alphabet. According to the greater or less proportion of the admixture of the foreign elements

with the Phenician rudiments or Greek primitives, we shall be warranted in admitting or rejecting the distinction that Velasquez and Sestini have set up between the various Spanish modes of writing. The two principal systems they have recognised are, the one belonging to the south of Spain, termed *Turditain*, and the other of the north, which they designate the *Celtiberian*.

I do not think the latter of these two denominations to be quite correct. It is proved that the Celts never established themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean. Now, amongst probable attributions, there are a great many that refer to Catalonia and Valencia, where the Celts never penetrated. It would be more regular to class these two alphabets under the common name of *Iberian*.

But the differences instanced in the Spanish writing never descended below the surface of things: the distinction consists in the greater or less mixture of foreign characters with the Phenician system; but in every case, the original Phenician system—that is to say, the purely alphabetic principle—is acknowledged to preside in the composition of both systems.

What may be the origin of the characters varying from those of the Phenicians, such as we find in various Spanish inscriptions, particularly in those peculiar to Bœtica, and more especially on the medals of Obulco?

We find, for instance, these two characters, **⌘**, **⌘**, which resemble none of the Phenician forms; they are still to be met with on an inscription (unfortunately almost unique), that decorates a monument in the vicinity of Tucca, an ancient Libyan town.<sup>5</sup> It presents on one side several lines of Phenician writing, and on the other a species of writing that has been denominated Libyan, and of which scarcely another example is extant.

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<sup>5</sup> Vol. III. p. 139.

It was doubtless in a similar system of writing, which must be carried back to central Asia, that the *Turditain* books, properly so called,<sup>6</sup> of which Strabo speaks, must have been composed; and we can easily comprehend, if the *Turditain*, or *Betican*, letters belong to the Lybian alphabet, that they must be more numerous in the Spanish inscriptions belonging to the south of the Peninsula,—that is to say, to the country most adjacent to Africa.

But what is the distinguishing difference between the Celtiberian and *Turditain* inscriptions? It is, that the characters analogous to those delineated are much more uncommon, and that, on the contrary, those resembling the Phenician or Greek primitives predominate. We thus explain why the interpretation of the Celtiberian medals promises a greater chance of success than that of the *Turditain* medals, on which the non-Phenician characters are the most numerous. Confining myself thus to the former, I was desirous to see if the bilingual medals would furnish me with any satisfactory results. I first applied the system above developed to the medals of Saguntum and Emporiæ, and could find no resemblance on these pieces between the Celtiberian and the Latin legends. But Emporiæ was purely Greek, and Saguntum was the name of Zacantha, or Zacynthus, altered by the Spaniards and by the Latins; consequently, if these two towns had Greek names, they would have borne different Spanish names; and it is thus explained why the Celtiberian legends do not resemble the Latin. But, as regards other towns in the interior, as Bilbilis, the birth-place of Martial, and Celsa in Arragon, of which the medals are also bilingual, the parallel can be established without difficulty.

We find, in the legends of the coins of Bilbilis, the same number of letters as in the Latin word, with the exception

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<sup>6</sup> Strabo, vol. iii. p. 159, *Μασσαλιωτῶν κτίσμα*.

of the two vowels, which leaves us to suppose that the Celtiberians, like the people of the East, suppressed the vowels. The most remarkable feature, and which leads to the discovery, is that the word Bilbilis, **𐌧 𐌧 𐌧 𐌧 𐌧**, presents a repetition of the two consonants. Now, the character **𐌧** which ought to be B, is perhaps a P; but this character holds a place, by its peculiar form, almost at an equal distance from the Greek **Π** and the Latin P. The second character **𐌧** is, with a trifling difference, a primitive Greek **Λ**, and the final **𐌧**, is the S primitive of the Greeks. The last but one is the Phenician *i* *o* *d* inverted.

The medal of Celsa presents on one side the name in Latin, and on the other the name in Celtiberian characters, **𐌧 𐌧 𐌧**. We recognise the **Λ** of the Greeks still more distinctly than in the medal of Bilbilis, and the **𐌧**, which has the power of a K in the Etruscan alphabet, analogous to the lunar **𐌧** observable on the coins of Rhegium. For the third letter, we find the *samech* of the name of Bilbilis, and the fourth is evidently the E primitive, with the upper bar shorter, as we find it in the Greek alphabet. A little distance from Celsa is a Celtiberian town, which is called almost identically, Cissa. If this name were found on medals, the transcription ought to be a little different from the word we have read, *Kelse*. Medals exist with a name analogous to that of Celsa, except the L **𐌧 𐌧**; this name would be Kse, or Cissa.

This analysis will be sufficient to shew, that the whole work of Sestini is not without the support of probability. He has proposed forty readings of Phenician medals: we admit ten of them, and add to these others which he has not spoken of. Thus, there is mentioned in ancient authors, a city south of Catalonia, *Ileosca*; now, we find a Celtiberian inscription thus arranged: **𐌧 𐌧 𐌧 𐌧**. It presents almost all the elements of the name of *Ileosca*; the **𐌧**, the

h, and the w, almost resembling the Hebrew; the p is there almost identically renewed; then comes a letter, which cannot be a X Greek, but a transcription of π.

We can, therefore, scarcely refuse to believe with Velasquez and Sestini, in the Phenician origin of the Celtiberian alphabet; but was this origin mediate or immediate? There are reasons for and against. They who would have the Celtiberian writing considered as transmitted directly by the Phenicians, may observe that the letters given by Velasquez and Sestini, as identical with the letters which the Greeks added to the Phenician alphabet, are exactly those of which a fair reading cannot be drawn. There is one letter that has been taken for an Ω, X; another for a Ψ, Ψ; and another for a X, X; these three letters, that have been considered as positive proofs of the Greek origin of this alphabet, present but fallacious resemblances to the Greek, and must have had a different origin.

It is also to be remarked, that certain letters, of which the meaning is known, present greater analogy to the Phenician than to the Greek type. M, a letter equivalent to m in the Celtiberian alphabet, offers but little analogy with the μ primitive of the Greeks; inscriptions clearly shew, that it did not acquire this latter signification with the Greeks until after the custom had been adopted of sounding the *schin*, instead of letting it sleep as originally. The w, acknowledged by Bayer, ψ, has much greater affinity to the pure Phenician type, than it has with the same letter as reproduced by the Greek. The *phc*, Γ, is not precisely either the Greek II, nor the P of the Latins; it is of an intermediate form, and must be referred to the Phenicians.

This character, ↑, seems to be rather derived from the Phenician than from the Greek letter, which has a hori-

zontal bar at the top  $\tau$ . All these tend to decide the direct Phenician origin of the Celtiberian letters. We can believe also that the establishment of the Greeks in Spain dates posterior to that at Marseilles. Some look upon the more ancient colonies of the Rhodians and Zacynthians on the coasts of Spain as fabulous. The city of Emporiæ could not have been founded earlier than the fifth century before Christ, an epoch when the Phenician system had become deeply modified by the Greeks settled at the south of Gaul and north of Spain. Now, if the Greek alphabet had already definitely taken the form it has preserved, why should the Celtiberians have trod back their steps, and have assimilated their writing to the Phenician type?

Also arguments are not wanting in favour of the mediate origin of the Celtiberian alphabet; that is to say, of its transmission by the Greeks to the Iberians. If we find some letters differing from the Greek primitive type, there are others that give us the forms of the Greek alphabet, that is to say, the Phenician forms already much changed; thus, we meet there with the Greek *samech* and the Etruscan  $\zeta$ , differing from the Phenician *samech*; we find the Etruscan K differing from the Phenician *kaph*; the  $\Delta$  Greek ( $\Uparrow \Delta$ ), which differs widely also from the Phenician *lamed*.

We can maintain also that the Phenician alphabet could not have found its way into the north of the Peninsula but through the settlements on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and we find, to obstruct their passage, traces of the Punic writing, the vestiges of which so abound in the inscriptions of the middle of Spain.

If the Iberians of Betica had at first used this writing, and had retained it from preference, how would it chance that in the north of the Peninsula more Phenician characters should be found than in the vicinity of the settlements



themselves? We may reasonably suppose the Greeks to have had towns on the coasts of Spain anterior to the founding of Emporiæ; so the city of Rhodes was founded by the Rhodians before Marseilles;<sup>7</sup> there are obscure traditions of a settlement of inhabitants from the isle of Zacynthus at Saguntum;<sup>8</sup> lastly, the Phocians had touched on the shores of Spain before they settled at Marseilles.

There is nothing to prevent our believing the settlement of the Greeks on the soil of Valencia and Catalonia before the foundation of Emporiæ; by this route the Phenician alphabet might early have been spread through the north of Spain. In every case we must consider the fabric of medals having Celtiberian characters, as being (comparatively) very recent; the more ancient coins of Spain are evidently those in silver of the towns of Rhoda and Emporiæ on the shores of Catalonia; we observe in the more ancient of these pieces, the simple and chaste work of the best times of Grecian art; of these I know not a single specimen that I could date earlier than the fourth century before the Christian æra. Those of the Phenicians of the south, chiefly in bronze, are subsequent to the medals of Emporiæ and Rhodes. The medals called Celtiberian having Spanish legends, compared with the Greek medals of Emporiæ, are clearly rude imitations of these latter pieces; they have a female head surrounded with fishes. When the type is foreign to that of Emporiæ, we meet again with that of the Carthaginian medals struck in Sicily or in Africa, which could only have been introduced by the Carthaginians themselves at the time of their conflict with the Romans on the soil of Spain.

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<sup>7</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 160.—*Τὴν δὲ κτίσιν Ποδῶν φασί.* This opinion is confirmed by the name of the town and the type of its medals.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo iii. 110. Sil. Ital. ii. 603.

The medals of Betica with *Turditain* legends proceed by a like rude imitation from the Phenician monies struck in the cities on the south of the Peninsula. Without doubt, to those who are not well accustomed to the practical examination of ancient coins, the Spanish medals have a certain sharpness of outline which would cause them to be mistaken for very ancient productions; but in this a new instance occurs of the deception that is often produced by the works of barbarous nations. When we examine these coins carefully, we always can detect the imitation of a Greek or Roman type struck in an advanced state of the arts. When, upon this principle, we have a clue to the subjects represented on the Spanish coins, we can place no faith in their extreme antiquity. Besides, it is an ascertained fact, that the Roman coins, especially those of Augustus and Tiberius, struck in Spain a little after the Roman Conquest, present the same peculiarity in sharpness so remarkable on the coins purely Spanish; from which again we infer that the latter have been struck at a period cotemporary with that in which the Romans seized on Spain; that is to say, amidst the necessities that arose either from the connection between the Carthaginians and Celtiberians, or from the struggles of the latter with the Romans.

The perfectly antique physiognomy of the writing traced on these medals, must not make us more ready to mistake the recent epoch of their workmanship. The systems of writing are speedily modified, very often with nations who make great use of them, whilst, on the contrary, the graphic system remains immutable, almost untouched, amongst nations who make but a limited use of writing; the Iberians were of this number.

We thus see, that whilst the Phenician system expe-

rienced remarkable modifications, at least as to the direction of the writing, the Greek system had long remained stationary during the centuries extending from the settlement of Cadmus to the return of the Heraclidæ.

On the other hand, we must not conclude from the comparatively modern workmanship of the coins, that the writing found on them was thus of recent origin in Spain. It is not with the introduction of coins as with that of writing. Almost every nation has felt the necessity for writing, and has been compelled to essay the usage of it long before a monetary commerce has been substituted for traffic by barter.

This is not to say that the Iberians may have possessed inscriptions which went back, according to their own account, to six thousand years. In the passage in Strabo<sup>9</sup> where this assertion is supposed to be found, the question relates only to the *laws in verse* possessed by a people of the Iberian Peninsula. The existence of laws in metre appears to instance a traditional usage, and to have preceded the use of writing. Thus, it is probable, the Iberians possessed poetic monuments, transmitted by tradition before the introduction of writing, monuments going back to a remote antiquity, that to pure tradition had succeeded a writing of Lybian origin, and that, finally, this system of writing must, particularly in the north, have yielded to the ascendancy of a second system, borrowed from that of the Phenicians. We admit, therefore, the existence in primitive Spain of several

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<sup>9</sup> iii. p. 139.—Σοφώτατοι δὲ ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὗτοι, καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι τὰ συγγραμματα, καὶ ποιήματα, καὶ νόμους ἑμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὥς φασί. It is clear that here the date of six thousand years applies to the framing of laws, and not to their transcription, which must have been long posterior.

systems of writing; the more ancient must have been carried thither from the interior of Asia, the remembrance of which is preserved by Sallust,<sup>10</sup> by Varro,<sup>11</sup> and even by Isidore.<sup>12</sup> This system left deep traces in the writings of the south of the Peninsula; afterwards came the Phenician or primitive Greek system, which blended with the first, and produced in one district the Turditain writing, and in another, that called Celtiberian.

If the Phenicians obtained a direct influence on the Spaniards, they must have done so before the arrival of the Celts. By the order in which Varro enumerates the invaders of Spain, first, the Iberians, then the Persians, afterwards the Phenicians and the Celts, and lastly the Carthaginians, we may conclude that the domination of the Phenicians preceded the arrival of the Celtic tribes; but if this writing came from the Greeks, we must suppose that the blending of the Celts and the Iberians had already taken place, and that it was to these tribes thus composed of diverse elements that the Phenician writing was transmitted by the Greeks.

In every case, to the support of the opinion that would consider the Celtiberian writing as transmitted by the Greeks, we may bring the weight of this reason, that the monuments presenting the greatest number of letters in the primitive Greek refer to Valencia and to Arragon, to countries nearest to the Greek colonies, whether later, as those of Emporiæ; or earlier, as those of Zante and Rhodes.

CH. LENORMANT.

<sup>10</sup> Jugurth, xxi.

<sup>11</sup> Origin, ix. 2, 118-122.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. Plin. H. N. iii. 3.—In universam Hispaniam M. Varro pervenisse Iberos et Persas, et Phœnicas, Celtasque et Pœnos tradit.

# ON SOME SAXON COINS DISCOVERED NEAR GRAVESEND, IN 1838.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 30, 1840.]

IN the autumn of 1838, a parcel of Saxon coins were dug up in the neighbourhood of Gravesend, and with them a plain silver cross with a stud of colored glass in the centre. There is generally concealment or deception on these occasions, as the discoverers fear that some lord of the manor or owner of the soil may lay claim to the treasure and deprive them of their prize; and, consequently, many pieces so found are privately disposed of in separate parcels, and the opportunity lost of an examination of the whole deposit, which would frequently lead to the establishment of doubtful and disputed points. Upon the present occasion, I have reason to believe that the whole of the discovery has come into my hands, and I will proceed to describe it, and then endeavour to point out such circumstances connected with it as may appear worthy of attention.

The total number of coins is 552, and struck by the following persons, whom I have arranged chronologically according to the commencement of their reigns, and have put opposite to each the number of their respective coins.

1	Louis	.....	King of France	.....	814—840
3	Ceolnoth	.....	Archbishop of Canterbury	...	830—870
3	Ethelwulf	.....	Sole Monarch	.....	837—857
429	Burgred	.....	King of Mercia	.....	842—874
5	Ethelweard	.....	King of East Angles	.....	855
50	Edmund	.....	Ditto	...	855—870
57	Ethelred	.....	Sole Monarch	.....	867—872
1	Alfred	.....	Ditto	.....	872—901
1	Ceolwulf	.....	King of Mercia	.....	874—874
2	Athelstan	.....	King of the East Angles	....	878—898

Arranged according to their localities they will stand thus:—

<i>Archbp.</i>	<i>Sole Monarch.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Angles.</i>
Ceolnoth.	Ethelwulf.	Burgred.	Ethelweard.
	Ethelred.	Ciolwulf.	Edmund.
	Alfred.		Athelstan.

Upon looking at the above table, it will readily be admitted, that these coins must have been interred when the currency of the country consisted chiefly of the coins of Burgred, Edmund, and Ethelred. All these died between the years 870 and 874, and, as we have not any coins of the Mercian kings preceding Burgred, nor of any sole monarch preceding Ethelred, except three of Ethelwulf, it would appear more than probable that these coins were interred about the close of their reigns; but the presence of coins of Alfred, Ceolwulf, and Athelstan, prove that it must have been after the termination of those reigns; and from the smallness of the number of these, we may presume that it was only a very short time afterwards. Athelstan's is the only coin which necessarily brings down the date of the interment later than 874. Edmund died in 870; Athelstan succeeded, but at that time he was called Guthrum, and is said not to have taken the name of Athelstan before 878, when he was converted to Christianity. The history of the East Angles is involved in much obscurity and confusion; and, as we have not any coins of Guthrum, bearing that name, and as we have here coins of Athelstan with the badge of Christianity, included in a parcel which has every appearance of having been buried not much later than 874, we are almost disposed to believe that Athelstan's conversion may have taken place at an earlier period than has been usually assigned to it,

though it must be admitted that the existing historical records afford no ground for such a conjecture.

We will now proceed to make a few remarks upon the coins of each person in succession. That of Louis le Debonair may be dismissed in a few words. It is a foreign coin, and a single specimen, and, therefore, though of a much earlier date than that assigned to the interment of these coins, it does not affect the question, nor can we draw from it any inference respecting the general currency of the country.

The coins of Ethelwulf bear evident marks of having been much in circulation, while the great mass of the coins here found are as sharp and fresh as if they had just fallen from the dies. Their presence is merely accidental; and it is pretty evident that the coins of Ethelwulf and his successor Ethelbert had disappeared from general circulation before these coins were buried.

Archbishop Ceolnoth died in 870; and we do not find amongst these coins any of his successor, or of his predecessor; his coins, therefore, rather confirm the view I have taken, that they were interred not long after his death.

The coins of Ethelweard were formerly attributed to Ethelheard, of the South Saxons. Mr. Combe first suggested the propriety of removing them to East Anglia, in immediate connexion with those of Edmund; and he was unquestionably right in so doing. If any doubt could have remained upon this point, the present discovery must have removed it; for we have here five coins of Ethelweard, as fresh as if just struck, found with coins which must have been struck about 870, when Ethelheard had been dead 130 years. As history records the acts without mentioning the names, of some East Anglian kings immediately prior to Edmund, it appeared probable that Ethelweard was his

immediate predecessor; but this discovery leads me to suspect that he was some unmentioned cotemporary, perhaps coadjutor, of Edmund's, in his latter days. History, however, being silent, we have only conjecture to rely on, except that these coins are clear evidences, that a king of the name of Ethelweard reigned over the East Anglians in immediate connection with the times of Edmund.

Of Alfred there is only one coin; and, though his money is generally rare, it would have been reasonable to expect more in such a parcel, if the deposit had been made in a later period of his reign. He began to reign in 872; Burgred died in 874; the one coin of Alfred may therefore be a corroborative proof that these coins were deposited very soon after the death of Burgred.

There is one coin of Ciolwulf, and there can be little doubt of its being a coin of him who is usually styled Ceolwulf II. Upon another occasion, I have stated some reasons for believing that most of those coins whereon the name is spelt with an *i* belong to the latter of the name. Ceolwulf, or Ciolwulf I., died in 820: between him and Burgred, four kings reigned of whom coins are known, but not one found upon this occasion; it would, therefore, be unreasonable to hesitate about assigning the coin in question to the immediate successor of Burgred, the cotemporary of the early days of Alfred, and reigning within four years of the deaths of Ceolnoth, Edmund, and Ethelred; and only four years prior to the latest period which can be assigned to the conversion of Athelstan.

In describing the coins of Burgred, I have divided them into four parts, according to certain modifications in the type of the reverses. The peculiarities in the orthography of the names, the erroneous insertion or omission of letters, the accidental substitution of one for another, their trans-



position, and their topsyturvyng, will be so easily observed by an inspection of the list, that it is unnecessary to take further notice of them, than by an occasional note or two annexed to the list. I have thought it advisable to make this list as detailed as possible, marking all the varieties of the forms, positions, and connectings of the letters, because it affords the means of correcting the error in one name by another. In Ruding's list of moneyers will be found the name of ADHELM, or ADHLEM, while that of TIDHELM does not appear: but this is the right one, for the I is placed so near to the T, that the cross stroke passes over it, and gives to the two letters the appearance of an ill-formed A. Ruding's three next names I believe to have been either misspelt or misread, the right name being BEAGSTAN. Sometimes a wrong name is given by reading H instead of N, or the contrary, because the same form very frequently serves for both letters. A letter formed somewhat like a small h, is used sometimes for that letter, as in LVGERED, and, when turned upside down, for V, as in EDMFND, in which word it sometimes appears in both positions. But it is scarcely necessary to particularize more peculiarities, and I will only refer the reader to the following list :—

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## BURGRED.

Type of Reverse, Moneyer's name written across the field, between two lines curved at the ends; above and below, parts of the word Moneta, with occasionally the terminating letters of the Moneyer's name.



	+BVRGRED	REX	+LENRED	MON	ETA	<sup>1</sup>
	_____	_____	_____	cMON	c_____	
3	+_____	_____	+_____	_____	_____	
	+_____	RE	_____	_____	_____	
3	+_____	REX	LIALLA	FMON	_____	
2	+_____	REX γ	LVNEHL	MON	_____	<sup>2</sup>
	_____	REX	_____	_____	_____	
	+_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	



	_____	REX <sup>3</sup>	LVHEHLM	MON	ETA <sup>3</sup>	
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	
	_____	_____	LVNEHEL	MON	_____	<sup>4</sup>
	+_____	_____	DIARVL	FMON	_____	
2	_____	_____	DIARVLF	MON	_____	



2	_____	_____	+DVDA	MON	_____	<sup>5</sup>
---	-------	-------	-------	-----	-------	--------------

<sup>1</sup> O lozenge shaped.<sup>2</sup> Broad flat x.<sup>3</sup> HE joined together. A dotted line under MON and above ETA, and a double circle round the head.<sup>4</sup> HE joined together.<sup>5</sup> Dotted line above and below DVDA.

2	+ BVRLRED	REX-	+ DVDA	MON	ETA	
	+ ———	——	+ ———	MON	——	6
2	+ ———	——	+ ———	MON	——	7
3	+ ———	——	+ DVDEL	LMON	——	8
2	+ ———	——	DVDEMA	NMON	——	
	+ ———	——	——	——	——	
	——	——	DVDPINE	MON.	——	9



2	+ ———	——	+ EDELVL	FMON	——	
	+ ———	——	HEAVVL	FMON	——	
2	+ ———	——	——	——	——	
	+ ———	——	+ HEVVLF	MON	——	10
	——	REY	HEREFER	DMON	——	
2	+ ———	REX	——	——	——	
	——	REX	——	——	——	
4	+ ———	REX	——	——	——	
	+ ———	RE	HVLERE	DMON	——	
5	——	REX	——	——	——	
2	+ ———	REL	——	——	——	
	——	REY	——	——	——	
	——	REX	HVLERED	MON	——	11
	+ ———	——	——	MON	——	
2	——	——	+ HVXA	MON	——	12
2	——	——	+ ———	MON	——	
	+ ———	——	+ ———	MON	——	
	+ ———	——	+ ———	MON	——	



+ ——— REX + LVDIL MON ETA.

<sup>6</sup> O lozenge-shaped. <sup>7</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top; O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>8</sup> I omitted. <sup>9</sup> O lozenge-shaped. <sup>10</sup> A omitted. <sup>11</sup> O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>12</sup> O lozenge-shaped.

	+BVRLED	REX	OSMHND	MON	ETA
2	_____	_____I	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	OZMFND	_____	_____
	+	_____	OZMHND	M ð N	_____
3	_____	_____	+TATA	MON	_____
	_____	_____	+TATA	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	+TATA	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	+VVINE	_____	_____
	+	_____	VVLFEAR	DMON	_____
2	_____	RE Y	_____	_____	_____
2	+	REX	_____	_____	_____



+ \_\_\_\_\_ PFPEAR MON \_\_\_\_\_ 13

Type of reverse like the preceding, but a segment of a circle above and below the inscription.

	+BVRLED	REX Y	+LEDLIAF	·MON·	·ETA·
	+	_____	+LENRED	_____	_____
	+	_____M	+	_____	_____
2	+	_____M	+	Π·Q·N	_____
	+	_____M	+LEDELLV	LFMO	NETA <sup>14</sup>
2	+	_____	+LIAALLA	FMON	ETA
	_____	_____	LVNEHL	·MON	_____ 15
	_____	_____x	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____Y	LVNEHEL	MON	_____ 16
	_____	_____	LVNEHL	MON	_____ 17
	_____	REX	LVNEHLM	MON	_____ 18
	_____	_____	LVNEHLM	MON	_____ 19
	+	_____	LVNEHLM	M·O·N	_____ 20

<sup>13</sup> P, instead of the usual form VV, and I upside down, as was not uncommon in these times, especially upon the coins of Eadmund.

<sup>14</sup> Probably a corruption of EDELVLV; NE united.

<sup>15</sup> II omitted; the omission or insertion of E after H in this name seems indifferent.

<sup>16</sup> HE united.

<sup>17</sup> NE united.

<sup>18</sup> HL united; O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>19</sup> NE united.

<sup>20</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top; O lozenge-shaped.

2	BVRLRED	REXY	DIARVL	MON	ETA	21
	_____	—Y	DIARVLE	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+DVDA	_____	_____	..
	+BVRLR Y ED	REX.:	+ _____	..:_____	_____	
	+BVRLRED	REX M	+DVDDA	_____	_____	22
2	+ _____	REX	+ _____	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+DVDELI	LMON	_____	23
	: _____	_____:	EDELALL	m- $\diamond$ -N	_____:	24
	BVRLR+ED	REX-	+EDELVF	FMON	_____	25
	BVRLRED	REX Y	+ _____	FM- $\diamond$ -N	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+EDELVL	FMON	_____	
	_____	_____	LVØHERE	MON	_____	26
	_____	_____	LVØHERE	M $\diamond$ N	_____:	..
	+ _____	_____	+HEVVLV	MON	_____	27
3	+ _____	_____	HVLERE	DMON	_____	
	+ _____	_____	HVLERED	MON	_____	
	+ _____	_____!	HVØHERE	_____	_____	28
	_____	_____:	+HVSSA	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____!	+ _____	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+LIAFMA	NMON	_____	
	_____	_____	+LVDIL :	MON	_____:	..
	_____	_____:	+TATA	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____Y	+ _____:	_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+ _____	:_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	+ _____	:_____	_____	
	+ _____	_____	VVINE	_____	_____	29
	+ _____	_____Y	+VVINE	_____	_____	
2	+ _____	_____	+ _____	_____	_____	

Type of reverse; the moneyer's name between two semi-circles, enclosing his denomination.



BVRLRED

REX Y

BEALZTA

MON · ETA ·

<sup>21</sup> F omitted. <sup>22</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top.

<sup>23</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top. <sup>24</sup> Possibly a corruption of EDELVLV.

<sup>25</sup> F instead of L. <sup>26</sup> HE united; O lozenge-shaped. <sup>27</sup> A omitted.

<sup>28</sup> H instead of L. Was the H in speaking so roughly aspirated as to approach the sound of G? <sup>29</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top.

4	BVRLRED	REX <sup>-x</sup>	BEALZTA	MON .ETA <sup>..</sup>	
	_____	_____	_____	·MON: ·_____	<sup>30</sup>
	_____	_____Y	_____	MON _____	
8	_____	_____+	_____	_____	
4	_____	_____x	_____	∴ _____	
3	_____	_____	_____	∴ _____	
3	_____	_____	_____	_____	
	_____	_____	_____	∴ _____	
	_____	_____	BEARHEA	·MON. _____	<sup>31</sup>
+	_____	_____Y	BEARHE	·MON. _____	<sup>32</sup>
+	_____	_____	+BERAH	·HMON. _____	
+	BVRLRY ED	REX.	+BERANH	·MON. _____	<sup>33</sup>
	BVRLRED	RE <sup>-xx</sup>	BERHEA	∴ MON: ∴ _____	<sup>34</sup>
2	_____	RE <sup>-x</sup>	+ _____	· _____	
3	_____	REX	+ _____	· _____	
2	_____	_____	_____	∴ _____	
	_____	REX <sup>-</sup>	+ _____	· _____	
	_____	REX <sup>-</sup>	+ _____	· _____	
7	_____	REX <sup>-</sup>	+ _____	· _____	
6	_____	RE <sup>-X</sup>	+ _____	· _____	
	_____	_____	+ _____	·MON. _____	<sup>35</sup>
2	_____	REX II	BIORNOÐ	∴ MON: ∴ _____	
	_____	REX	LENRED	cM-O-N <sub>2</sub> c—o	
4	_____	_____	_____	cMON <sub>2</sub> c—o	
	_____	_____	_____	· _____	
6	_____	_____Y	_____	∴ _____	
	_____	_____II	_____	∴ _____	
	_____	_____∴	_____	c—o c—o	
2	_____	_____	_____	c—o c—o	
2	_____	_____I	_____	c—o c—o	
	_____	_____	LEIHRED	∴ _____	<sup>36</sup>
	_____	·REX-Y	LVNEHEL	MON ETA <sup>..</sup>	<sup>37</sup>
2	_____	_____Y	_____	_____	
+	_____	_____	LVNEHEL	MON _____	<sup>38</sup>
+	_____	_____	_____	_____	
2	_____	_____Y	LVNEHL	_____	
	_____	_____	_____	_____	
2	_____	_____	_____	_____	

<sup>30</sup> O lozenge-shaped.<sup>31</sup> HE united.<sup>32</sup> A omitted.<sup>33</sup> O lozenge-shaped.<sup>35</sup> O lozenge-shaped.<sup>36</sup> HR united.<sup>38</sup> HE united; O lozenge-shaped.<sup>34</sup> HE united.<sup>37</sup> NE, HE united.

BVRGRED	REX	LVNEHL	.. MON: .. ETA :
=====	=====	=====	=====
=====	=====	=====	=====



	=====	—Y	LVNEHE	—	.. ETAT <sup>39</sup>
	=====	=====	DEALLE	.. MON: ..	
	=====	RE-X	+DELA :	=====	
	=====	RE Y	DIARVF	LMON	<sup>40</sup>
	=====	REX -	DIARVLF	WON	
	=====	=====	=====	MON	..
	=====	—Y	=====	=====	..
	=====	—II	+DILA :	.. MON: ..	
	=====	—Y	+=====	=====	
	=====	=====	+=====	.. : ..	
	=====	=====	+=====	=====	
13	=====	—x	+=====	=====	
	=====	RE Y	+=====	.. M ON: ..	
	BVRGRED	REXX	+IDILA :	=====	AT <sup>41</sup>
	BVRGRED	REX-	+DADA	=====	ETA <sup>42</sup>
	+=====	=====	+DVDV	=====	.. <sup>43</sup>
2	=====	=====	+DVDDA	=====	.. <sup>44</sup>
5	=====	=====	+=====	=====	
	=====	—Y	+=====	=====	..
	=====	=====	=====	=====	
	=====	—M	+DVDEIL	MON	<sup>45</sup>
2	=====	—	DVDPINE	MON	..
2	=====	=====	=====	.. : ..	
6	=====	—M	=====	.. : ..	
9	=====	—Y	=====	=====	..
5	=====	—Y	=====	.. : ..	..
	=====	—Y	DVDINE	.. : ..	<sup>46</sup>
	=====	=====	DVDPINE	=====	<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> L in the lower compartment, upside down ; NE united.

<sup>40</sup> FL transposed. <sup>41</sup> Very rude. <sup>42</sup> Rude ; leg. begins at top.

<sup>43</sup> Rude ; legend begins at top. <sup>44</sup> A letter in each upside down.

<sup>45</sup> Rude ; O lozenge-shaped. <sup>46</sup> Ib transposed and upside down.

<sup>47</sup> NE united.

2	BVRGRED	REX	DVDPINE	..MON:..ETA:.
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____M	EADNOÐ	..M o N:.
	_____	_____	_____	..MON.
2	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____M	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____Y	EADLVF	_____48
	_____	_____	EADLVLF	_____49
	_____	_____	EADVLFF :	_____
3	_____	_____	+ _____	_____
	_____	_____	_____ :	_____
2	_____	_____	_____ :	_____
	_____	_____x	+ _____	_____
2	_____	_____M	_____ :	_____
	_____	_____M	+ _____	_____
	_____	_____	EANRE	DMON ETA 50
+	_____	_____II	+ _____	DMON _____ 51



3	+	_____	_____	+	EANRED	MON	_____	52
	+	_____	_____	+	_____	MON	_____	53
	+	_____	_____	+	_____	MON	_____	
2	+	_____	_____	+	_____	_____	_____	
2	+	_____	_____		_____	VLE	NOW	54
	+	_____	_____		_____	VLE	NOW	55
		_____	_____		EDELHEA	..MON:..	ETA	
3		_____	_____		EDELLAF	..MON:..	ETA	
2		_____	_____		_____	..:..	..:..	
		_____	_____		EDELVLF	..:..	..:..	
		_____	_____		_____	..:..	..:..	
2		_____	_____		_____	..:..	..:..	

<sup>48</sup> LV transposed.

<sup>49</sup> L inserted.

<sup>50</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top; O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>51</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top; O lozenge-shaped.

52 O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>53</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top; O lozenge-shaped.

<sup>54</sup> Obv. leg. begins at top. These coins are marked by bad work, transpositions, reversings, &c.

55 Ditto.



2	BVRLRED	REXY	EDEVLF	..MON:..ETA:.	
4	_____	—Y	LVDERE	∴—∴ ∴—∴	55
2	_____	—	_____	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
	_____	—Y	LVDHERE	M◇N	_____
2	_____	_____	LVDHERE	M◇N	_____
	_____	REY:	_____	MON	_____
4	_____	REX	LVDERE	..MON:..	56
2	∴_____	∴	_____	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
2	_____	_____	_____	M◇N	_____
	_____	_____	_____	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
	_____	_____	HEAVVLF	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	FMON	_____
2	_____	—	_____	MON	_____
	_____	—Y	_____	_____	_____
	_____	—Y	_____	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
3	_____	—	HEAVVLF	∴—∴ ∴—∴	57
	_____	_____	HEAVVL	MON	58
7	_____	—	_____	FMON	_____
4	_____	—Y	_____	_____	_____
5	_____	—Y	HEREFER	DMON	_____
	_____	—	HVLERE	DMON	_____
4	_____	REY	_____	_____	_____
+	_____	REX	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	—Y	_____	_____	_____
2	_____	—Y	+HVZZA	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	+	_____	_____
3	_____	_____	+	_____	_____
2	_____	REY	_____	_____	_____
	_____	REX	HZZA	∴—∴ ∴—∴	59
	_____	—Y	+	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
	_____	REX	HVDERE	MON	60
	_____	REY	_____	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	+LEFLE:	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
	_____	_____	+LVDE:	∴—∴ ∴—∴	
3	_____	—M	OZMVND	..M◇N:..	
2	_____	_____	_____	M◇N	_____
5	_____	—Y	OZMLND	_____	61
	_____	—	OZMFND	_____	_____
	_____	_____	OZMVND	M◇N	_____

<sup>55</sup> H omitted<sup>56</sup> HE united.<sup>57</sup> HE united.<sup>58</sup> F omitted.<sup>59</sup> A instead of V.<sup>60</sup> H instead of L; HE united.<sup>61</sup> H upside down.

2    BVRLRED    REX-    OZMFND    M ÷ N ETA.  
       \_\_\_\_\_    \_\_\_\_\_    OZMVND    M ÷ N \_\_\_\_\_.



3    \_\_\_\_\_    \_\_\_\_\_ M    TIDHELM    ..MON:..:..  
       \_\_\_\_\_    \_\_\_\_\_ M    VVLFER    ..DMON:..:..

Type of reverse similar to the preceding, but the arcs of the semi-circles are separated in the centre, and the ends curled in.

BVRLRED	RE xx	BEALZTA	..MON	..ETA:..
_____	REX-	FVHEHL	..:..	..:..
_____	RE γ	DIARVLF	MON	_____
_____	REX	+ DVDDA	_____	_____
_____	_____	EDELVLF	..:..	..:..
_____	_____ γ	+ LVLLA	_____	_____
_____	_____ -	+ _____	_____	_____
_____	_____ γ	VVLFEAR	..DMON:..	..ETA:..
2    _____	_____ -	_____	..:..	..:..
_____	_____ -	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____ -	_____	..DMON	..:..

### CIOLWULF.

Type of reverse; inscription in three lines, separated by two lines, each terminated at one end like a crozier.



+CIOLVULF REX γ    ·EAN· AALFYO    RE.T: V  
 The VV and A upside down; RE united.

LOUIS LE DEBONAIRE, KING OF FRANCE.

+HLVDOVVICVS IMP. Cross, pellet in each angle.

KRISTIANA RELIGIO. Front of Titrasty le Temple.

CIALNOTH, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

+LIALNOD ARLEEZ. Front face.

+SPEBHEARD MO. Christian monogram; pellet in each angle.

- + LIALNOD A'R·LEZ. } Same type as preceding;  
 + VVHHER·E MONETA. }  
 NE joined together.  
 + LEOLNOD ARLHIEP. Profile face.  
 + TOLLA MON ETA, in three lines, like the coins of  
 Burgred.

ETHELWARD, KING OF EAST ANGLES.



- EDEL·B·ARD REX. Cross, crescent in each angle.  
 ADEL·HE·L·M ∴ Cross, wedge in each angle.  
 EDEL·B·ARD REX. } Same type.  
 ADEL·HEL·HEL·M. }  
 ADELVVEARD REX. Letter A.  
 †EADMVND NHX ∴ Cross, pellet in each angle.  
 NH joined together.  
 ADELVVEARD REX. Letter A.  
 + TVDVAL·NE ∴ Cross, wedge in each angle.  
 + EDELVVEARD REX. Cross, issuing from two annulets.  
 + T·P·I·L·C ∴ A ∴ OM. Cross, pellet in each angle.

EADMUND, KING OF EAST ANGLES.

- 5 + EADMVND REX AN. Letter x†x  
 BEORNFEERD MO. Cross, pellet in each angle; \*E  
 inserted.  
 3 + EADMVND RX · AN.  
 BEORNFERD MO.  
 + EADMVN·D· R·EX AN.  
 BEORNFE ∴ RD MO.  
 + EADMVND REX. Letter A.  
 + BAEFHELM MO. Cross, pellet in each angle.  
 + EADMVND REX + BEORNHAEH MO.  
 + ————— + BEORNHAEH.

+EADMVND REX	+EAD·D·BERHT MO·.
+————— ——— AN·	+EADMVND · MONE.
+————— ——— ———	+EADMVND MONE·.
+————— ——— ———	+————— MONE·.
+EADMVND REX	+EADMVND M·.
+EADMVNO REX AN	+EADMVND MONE. rude coin
2 +EADMVND REX	+EADVALD MO·.
3 +————— ———	+————— ———.
+————— ———	+EADVALD MO.
+————— ———	+EADVALD ! MONE.
+EADMVND DEX	+EADVALD LD M·.
+EADMVND REX	+NOM·AM·.Backwards
+————— ———	+SIFERED MO·.
+————— ———	+————— MOE.
+————— ———	+————— MON.
+————— ——— :	+SIFERED MON·.
+————— ———	+SIFERED —::
3 +————— ———	+BAEFHELM. Cross, pellet in each angle, both obv. & rev.
+————— ——— .	+BAEFHELM MO.
————— ——— AN.	Cross, crescent in each angle.
+EDEFHELM MO.	Cross, pellet in each angle.
EADMVND RE AN.	
AEDELHELM·M·	Pellet, wedge-shaped.
EADMVND RE AN.	
AEDELHELM·M.	Pellet, wedge-shaped.
+EADMVND REX AN.	
× MON EDETVLF.	Λ upside down.
+EADMVND REX AN·.	
+ MON EDETA·AL·E.	ΛΛE upside down ; L is very frequently so in Eadmund's coins.
+EADMVND REX·	
+EDELTVLF MOT.	Pellets, wedge-shaped, F inserted.
NAER D·VMDÆ.	
AEDELHELM·.	Pellets, wedge-shaped.
+EADMVND REX AN.	Cross, issuing out of two annulets.
+TPICA MOM.	Cross, pellets in each angle ; L omitted.

+EADMVND REX AN. Legend begins at bottom.

+TPIIL · C · A MON.

5 +EADMVND REX AN. Legend begins at top.

+TPILCA MON.

### ETHELSTAN.



+EDELSTANI. Letter  $\overline{A}$ .

+MOHH MOHETA. Cross, pellet in each angle.

EDELSTAN RE AI.

+MOH MONET. On each side a cross ; pellet in each angle.

### ETHELWULF, SOLE MONARCH.

+EDELVULF REX. LANT, in monogram.

+HVNBEANT HONET. DORIB in monogram ; NE united.

+EDELVULF REX. DORIB in monogram.

+MANINEYO NETA. LANT in monogram ; the NE's joined together.

+EDELVULFE REX. LANT in monogram.

+HEBELA HONETA DOR. MLAN in the angles of a cross ; NE united.

### ETHELRED, SOLE MONARCH.

	+ AEDELRED	REX	BIARNEA	HM $\diamond$	NETA <sup>61</sup>
	+ _____	_____	BIARNMO	DMO	_____ <sup>62</sup>
5	+ _____	_____	_____	DM $\diamond$	_____
	+ _____	_____	_____ $\diamond$	DMON	ETA
	+ _____	_____	BIARNM	ODMO	NETA <sup>63</sup>
	+ _____	M _____	DEALLA	· MON ·	· ETA ·
	+ _____	_____	DIARVL	· FMON ·	· ETA ·
5	+ _____	_____	DVDDA	MON	_____
	+ _____	_____	_____	· M $\diamond$ N ·	_____
3	+ _____	_____	_____	_____	_____ <sup>64</sup>
2	+ _____	_____	+ DVNN	· MON ·	· _____ ·

<sup>61</sup> NE united.

<sup>62</sup> NM united.

<sup>63</sup> NE united.

<sup>64</sup> Legend begins at shoulder.

2 +	ÆDELRED REX	+ DVNN	MON	ETA
2 +	_____	ELBERE	_____	_____
+	_____	_____	M ◊ N	_____
+	_____	_____	· MON ·	· _____ ·
+	_____	+ ELLA ::	: _____ :	: _____ :
2 +	_____	EDELRED	M ◊ N	_____
+	_____	EDELRE	DMO	NETA <sup>65</sup>
2 +	_____	HEREBEA	LDMO	NETA <sup>66</sup>
+	_____	LIABINE	MON	ETA <sup>67</sup>



+	_____	_____	LVLLA :	· M ◊ N ·	ETA.
2 +	_____	_____	MANN	MON	_____
3 +	_____	_____	_____	· _____ ·	· _____ ·
+	_____	_____	_____	M ◊ N	_____
2 +	_____	_____	MANINE	_____	_____
2 +	_____	_____	MANNIN	_____	_____ 68
4 +	_____	_____	OSHERE	_____	_____
+	_____	_____	TORHTMV	NDMO	NETA <sup>69</sup>
+	_____	_____	_____	NOM	ONETA <sup>70</sup>
+	_____	_____	VVINE :	· MON ·	· ETA ·
2 +	EDELREDR. EX	_____	BIARNM ◊	DMON	ETA <sup>71</sup>

The reverse of the two following has the inscription in four lines.



+ EDELREDR. REX	:: A ::	LVDEL	MMONE	TA
+ _____	:: A ::	TORHTM	VND MON	ET <sup>72</sup>

The letter A in the upper line may be intended for Anglia, though in the second coin it is required to complete the word MONETA.

<sup>65</sup> NE united.

<sup>66</sup> HE and NE united.

<sup>67</sup> NL united.

<sup>68</sup> NN united.

<sup>69</sup> HT, ND, and NE united.

<sup>70</sup> NE united.

<sup>71</sup> NM united.

<sup>72</sup> HT and ND united.

## ALFRED.

The type of the reverse is like those of Burgred, a moneyer's name between two semi-circles.

+ ÆLBRED RE :: DEILMV. ·NDMO. .NETA.<sup>73</sup>

*Moneyers unknown to Ruding.*

## BURGRED.

BEARNEAH.

BIORNOTH.

CEDLIAF.

CEÐELLVLF. Same as EÐELVLF?

DEALGE. Ruding has HEAGLE.

DELA.

DIARVL. F omitted.

DIARVFL. FL transposed.

DVDELL. I omitted.

EADLVF. LV transposed.

EADLVLF. L inserted.

EÐELALLM

EÐELLAF

EÐELVFF

EÐEVLF

} EÐELVLF?

HASSA. A upside down.

HEVVL. A and F omitted.

HEVVLF. A omitted.

HVÐERE

HVÐHERE

} H instead of L.

LEFLE.

LVDE.

LVDIL.

PFFEARD. P used here in place of VV, and Γ upside down.

TIDHELM. Ruding reads it ADHELM.

## ETHELWARD.

TVDVALNE.

TPIICA.

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<sup>73</sup> ND and NE united.

## EADMUND.



EADBERHT.

§IRRED.  $\Gamma$  upside down, a very common occurrence in these times; E omitted.

EÐETA VCF. FA upside down.

EÐEFAALE. FALE upside down.

EÐELFVLF. F inserted.

TPICA. E omitted.

It is remarkable, that amongst the coins both of Burgred and Eadmund, the moneyers of Ethelwulf should be conspicuous for the numerous blunders in writing their names; they could scarcely have been the same person.

(*Moneyers not in Ruding.*)

## ETHELRED.

EVDHELM.



DEALLA.

DIARVLF.

ELLA.

LIABINL.

LVLLA.

OSHERE.

WINE.

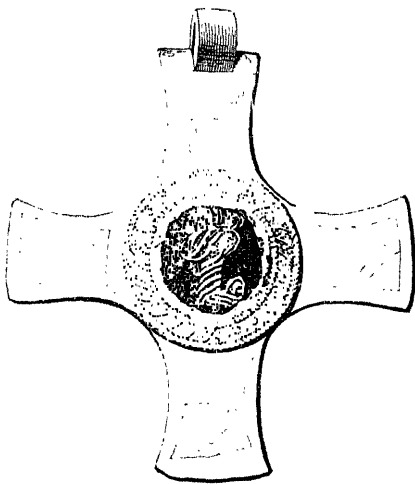



## ALFRED.



## DELMVND.

The cross found with these coins is of silver, two inches and one-quarter long, two inches and one-eighth wide, with a strong fixed loop for suspension; on the centre is a semi-globular piece of variously coloured glass, set in very strongly gilt border of an elegant beaded and corded pattern, rivetted to the cross; each limb of which has been rudely scratched with lines, to which no meaning can now be attached, if any were ever intended.



 We are requested to add, that the representations of the coins illustrating this article (with the exception of the cross) are from stereotyped casts executed by Mr. Doubleday.

## III.

## ON THE COINS READING OKOKAIEΩN.

No. 1.—ΑΥΤ·Κ·Μ·ΑΝΤ·ΓΟΡΑΙΑΝΟC. Laureated bust of Gordianus Pius to the right, with the *paludamentum*.

R. OKOKAIEΩN. Jupiter sitting, to the right; an eagle in his extended right hand, and the *hasta* in his left. Æ.7. Formerly in my cabinet, now in the British Museum.

No. 2.—Head and legend as the preceding.

R. OKOKAIEΩN. The goddess Fortune standing. Æ.6. Formerly in my cabinet, now in the British Museum.

No. 3.—Another, as the two last.

R. OKOKAIEΩN. Cybele sitting, to the left, at her feet, is a griffin? Æ 6½. Sestini *Lett.*, tom. vii, p. 68, Mionnet, tom. iv, p. 280, No. 495, under *Diococlea*, and same volume, p. 344, No. 864, under *Mococlea*.

THE authority on which the coins reading OKOKAIEΩN have been given to an imaginary city, named *Mococlea*, in Phrygia, is very weak and unsatisfactory. The earliest writer who mentions them, I believe, is Vaillant, in his *Numismatica Graeca*, and Hardouin, both of whom fancied the legend to read MOKOKAIEΩN; but Pellerin notes, that on the coin he saw the M was not visible.<sup>1</sup> Ancient geographers make no mention of a place of the name of Mococlea; therefore Vaillant, after changing the legend of the coin, is again obliged to alter the text of Stephanus to accommodate his hypothesis, and make *Mococlea* of the town, or rather village; that geographer alone mentions Moccle, a place from which Ortelius<sup>2</sup> supposes the name of the people Mogleni, or Mocleni had been derived.

<sup>1</sup> Pellerin *Melange*, tom ii. p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Ortelius *Geogr. v. Mocla*

Sestini disapproves of Vaillant's classification, but he, not satisfied with adding a single letter, introduces *two*, and imagines the word ought to be read ΔΙΟΚΟΚΑΙΕΩΝ;<sup>3</sup> and he again has been obliged to alter the text both of Hierocles and Ptolemy, the former of whom cites a town in Phrygia, which he calls *Dioclia*, and the latter gives another, presumed by some to allude to the same, which he writes *Decela*. Sestini, therefore, concludes, that both these names are corrupt as they stand in those authors, and imagines the correct reading to be Diococlea. In neither of these opinions can I concur,<sup>4</sup> because in the two examples once possessed by me, impressions of which I still retain, there is evidently no letter preceding the *omicron*,—nor, in fact, is there any room for one. The coins themselves are in the finest state of preservation, and similar remarks are made by Mionnet in a note on the coin he published.<sup>5</sup>

A careful examination of ancient geographers and historians, in the hope of finding some place to which these coins could be satisfactorily classed, in some way in accordance with the legend they bear, has been unsuccessful. I am, however, disposed to consider that they may probably belong to a town marked in the "Tabular

<sup>3</sup> Sestini *Lett. e Dissert.*, tom. iii, p. 68, et Mionnet, tom. iv. p. 280, No. 495.

<sup>4</sup> The learned Eckhel placed no confidence in Vaillant's opinion. He dismisses the subject by saying, "Vaillantius et Harduinus Gordiani numum afferunt: ΜΟΚΟΚΑΙΕΩΝ typo Cybeles. Eum tribuunt Phrygiae urbi, quam Stephanus vocat Μοκκην. Suspecta omnia." See his *Doct. Num. Vet.*, tom. iii., p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> Mionnet, tom iv, p. 344, Nos. 864 and 865, says in a note, "Cette médaille est bien conservée, cependant on ne trouve aucuns vestiges de la lettre M, qui devrait être l'initiale de la légende."

Itinerary," by the name of *Coclea*. This *Coclea*, though noticed by no other authority, is laid down as situated between Dorylaeum and Acmonia, on the road from the former city to Philadelphia. Colonel Leake remarks that *Coclea* is an error in the "Itinerary" for *Cotyaeio*, and he founds his opinion on the distance of 30 P.M. corresponding with the actual distance between Eski-Skehr (Dorylaeum) and Kutáya (Cotyaeium), and he is further apparently borne out by the entire omission of the town of Cotyaeium in the table.<sup>6</sup> It must be confessed, that the arguments of the learned traveller appear very plausible, if not conclusive; but at the same time it is remarkable, that a name differing so widely from *Cotyaeium*, as *Coclea*, should be substituted for a city of so much importance, that even to this day its name has undergone little change. It is still called *Kutáya* by the Turks, whose language is but ill adapted to the pronunciation of Greek names. For my part, I am inclined to believe there must have existed some grounds for the framer of the "Itinerary" to have marked the name of *Coclea*, although they may have laid it down inaccurately where Cotyaeium stood. The difference between *Ococlea* and *Coclea* is very trifling: the corruptions in the table are numerous, but the suppression of the first letter, and particularly as that letter is a vowel, is not surprising; and, unlike *Mococlea* and *Diococlea*, if written from hearing it pronounced *Ococlea*, might easily have been mistaken for *Coclea*.

It must not be forgotten, that all the charts we possess of Asia Minor are dreadfully incorrect; all travellers are unanimous in this complaint. Leake has certainly laid down Cotyaeium much too far east, which is proved by the discovery of the isle of Aezania, only eight hours, or

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<sup>6</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor*, chap. iv. p. 167.

thirty miles distant from Kutáya; and Aezania is close to the sources of the Ryndacus. More than one of my friends who have made repeated tours in that direction, have assured me that Cotyaeium could not have been the connecting stage between Aemonia and Dorylaeum, on the grand military route from Philadelphia to the latter city; and, as the "Itinerary" merely marks (or is supposed to do so) the military stations, the omission of Cotyaeium is in some respects accounted for. One of these travellers, who pretends to have discovered the remains of Aemonia, which he places at a distance of eight leagues east of the modern town of Ushak, or Oushak, adds, that the next stage towards Dorylaeum could not have been Cotyaeium, but some other place, of which the Coclea in the table may be a corruption; but since I have shewn this gentleman my coins with the legend OKOKAIEΩN, he is persuaded they belong to that place. Corrupt as it must be acknowledged is the orthography of the table, yet many of the errors are more imaginary than real, and appear so to us from the little knowledge which has reached us of the geography of this interesting part of the world. Another city, in the same line of road, called Clannuda, between Philadelphia and Alidda, was thought by Leake to be a corrupt reading in the table, till he became acquainted with a coin once in my possession, and now in the British Museum, bearing for legend KAANNOYΔEΩN.<sup>7</sup> Leake himself, in his remarks in Major Keppel's narrative, retracts his opinion,<sup>8</sup> and he may be equally in error as regards Coclea.

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<sup>7</sup> Another coin of this city is now in my collection, brought to me lately from Oushak: it offers a type different from that now in the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> "When I published the 'Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor,' I hazarded the opinion, that the name of Clannuda, occurring in

That the coins in question belong to a place in that vicinity I can testify; first, by their fabric, which assimilates them with coins struck under the same emperor, and, consequently at the same epoch, of other cities not far off; and, secondly, by the places where they are found: they have been brought to me from the neighbourhood of Kutáya, now the chief place of the province, with coins of Aemonia, Aezania, Dorylaeum, and Cotyaeium.

In declaring my opinion that my coins belong to a city in Phrygia, named OCOCLEA, and that city to be the CO-CLEA of the "Tabular Itinerary," mentioned by no other authority, I beg to say, that the geographical observations I have offered are founded on communications made by others, and they are advanced here with caution; I hope thereby to draw the attention of those more capable of judging the question than myself. If they consider my arguments of any weight, it will then be necessary to erase the fictitious cities of Mococlea and Diococlea from numismatic nomenclature, and substitute Ococlea in their place.<sup>9</sup>

H. P. BORRELL.

*Smyrna, March 26, 1840.*

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no authority but the 'Tabular Itinerary,' was a corruption. I have lately learnt, however, that a coin exists in the possession of a gentleman at Smyrna, bearing the inscription Κλαυρουδεων." See *Keppel's Narrative*, vol. ii. p. 371. This coin is described by Arundell, who is wrong in supposing there were two coins, having seen another in the possession of a traveller, when, in fact, they are one and the same.

<sup>9</sup> These coins of Ococlea are extremely rare; only one other, besides the two I describe at the commencement of these remarks, ever came under my notice,—all struck under the Emperor Gordianus Pius. The type of those published by the authors I have cited, is Cybele, from which my two are unpublished varieties; one is impressed with a figure of Jupiter, the other with that of Fortune,—both devices of frequent occurrence on the Phrygian coins of this period.

#### IV.

### ON THE COINS OF ZANCLE; AND, ON A VERY REMARKABLE VARIATION IN THE TYPE OF A COIN OF THAT CITY, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 26th, 1840.]

PREVIOUS to entering upon the question to which I have been led, by the variation in the type observable on the particular coin of Zancle which it is the more immediate object of this paper to elucidate, it may be needful to offer a few words on the age of the coins of that city; as well as some remarks on the type of those which were already known to us.

It is a well established historical event, that the city of Zancle, in Sicily, was taken possession of by the Samians, and other Ionian fugitives, in the year of the capture of Miletus by the Persians,<sup>1</sup> which happened 494 years B. C.<sup>2</sup> The Samians, however, retained possession of the town but for a short period; for Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, (by whose counsel they had rendered themselves masters of it) soon afterwards expelled them: and after repeopling the city with a number of mixed inhabitants, changed its name from Zancle to Messana.<sup>3</sup> This event (judging by the words of Thucydides) probably took place earlier than the year B. C. 490; the precise period, however, being somewhat dubious, we may remark that it must have happened previous to the year B. C. 476, in which Anaxilaus died.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot, lib. vi. § 18. 22. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii. p. 24. B. C. 494.

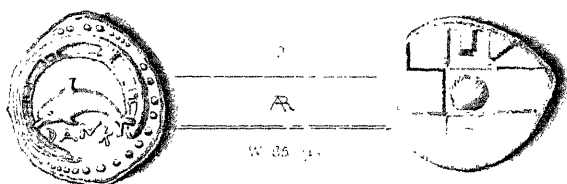
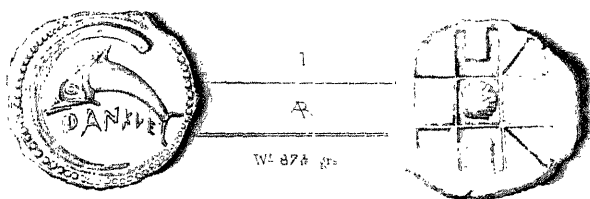
<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, lib. vi. 4. Herodot, lib. vii. § 164. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. Sicul. xi. 48. Fasti Hellenici, p. 32, B. C. 476, and other authorities there cited.





# COINS OF ZANZIBAR.



As these facts rest upon the united authority of Herodotus and Thucydides, and as the chronology of these events has been carefully and accurately fixed,<sup>5</sup> the coins of Zancle cannot be of later date than about five centuries before our era. The probability is that they are older, as they must have been struck previous to the arrival of the Samians; and we should probably not err in giving a range of 500 to 600 years B. c. as the age of these coins. This circumstance alone gives a peculiar interest to the very remarkable representations observable on them; for we have few objects of art which can be referred to so remote a period, and the age of which can be proved with so much accuracy and satisfaction.<sup>6</sup>

All the coins of Zancle which have hitherto come to light are of silver, and uniformly present the same type.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. p. 32. and the notes to Larcher's *Herodotus*, tome v. p. 382 and tome vii. p. 462.

<sup>6</sup> Both Herodotus, (lib. vi. 24) and Thucydides, (lib. vi. 4.) mention the Sicilian city Himera, in connexion with the affairs of Zancle. Indeed the latter historian says that Himera was founded from thence; and the former informs us (loc. cit.) that Scythes, tyrant of Zancle, fled to Himera when his city and territory were taken by the Samians, [B. c. 494].—We may derive a curious confirmation of the existence of a strong political and commercial connexion between these two ancient cities, from the fact, that *the most ancient* coins of Himera are adjusted to the same talent as those of Zancle, and like them, weigh about 85 to 90 grains, being drachmæ of the Æginetan talent. This coincidence is curious, as I believe it will be found that all the other cities of Sicily used the Attic talent, which Himera also adopted in later times. So that the standard of the money of an ancient city appears,—as well as its other institutions,—to have varied with its political and commercial relations, and not to have depended on its geographical position, as one might have been led, occasionally, to infer. The most ancient coins of Selinus, although they appear to be of the same age as those of Himera, are nevertheless always adjusted to the Attic standard.

<sup>7</sup> In stating that all the coins of Zancle, hitherto known, always present the same type without variation, I am well aware

Hence they may be all described as follows;

*Obv.*—A dolphin: under which is the inscription DANKVE; the whole nearly surrounded by a curved, or crescent shaped object, resembling the blade of a sickle, but always somewhat ill-defined.<sup>8</sup>

that very high authority may be cited against me. The first coin of Zancle ever published, (see *Paruta Sicilia descritta con Medaglie*, Panorm: 1612 fol.) gives us only a dolphin on the obverse, and a human head in profile, within the square on the reverse, instead of the scallop shell. The same plate was afterwards copied in the improved edition of Paruta's work. (*Lugd. Bat.* 1723, in 3 parts fol. with Commentaries by Havercamp, &c.) The same type re-appears (copied from Paruta) in *Froelich's Notitia Element.* Vindobonæ 1758, 4to., and again in *Torremuzza's Sicil. Pop. and Urb.* &c., Panorm: 1781, fol. From these authorities it has passed into *Eckhel's Doct. Num. Vet.* and many other works, down to *Mionnet's* most valuable catalogue. But all this, if well considered and examined, becomes a mere history of error, and shews us how careful we ought to be in publishing for the first time any coin which is ill preserved, and which does not satisfactorily shew the whole of the type.—As there exists in no modern cabinet any coin of Zancle with a human head in profile on the reverse, we may safely conclude that the coin engraved by Paruta was *ill preserved*, and that the author, or the artist, mistook the flattened and rubbed scallop shell for the profile of a face. We may observe also, in confirmation of this opinion, that there is no indication given of the curved object on the obverse, which, on well preserved coins may be always seen, and nearly surrounds the dolphin; and further, that Paruta, in describing the preservation, only calls it "*satis pulcher*." The little gold coins of Syracuse (see *Mionnet Plate* 47, figs. 2 and 4) well known in Paruta's time (see *Paruta, Plate* xxxiii. No. 2, and xxxvi. No. 33) probably tended to confirm, or to occasion, the mistake above explained.

<sup>8</sup> Thucydides informs us (lib. vi. 4.) that "the name of Zancle was first given to the place by its original inhabitants from its bearing a resemblance to a sickle in its shape;" and he adds that "the Sicilians call a sickle—ζάγκλον." Other ancient writers, however, relate that the sickle of Saturn fell at Zancle, and thus connect the name of that place with the well known fable (*vide Stephanus*). It was with reference to this latter mode of explanation, that, when I last had occasion to refer to the type of the coins of Zancle (*Num. Journal*, Vol. I. page 104) I considered that the curved object represented upon them was intended for the blade of

*Rev.*—A square area, containing thirteen square and triangular subdivisions, seven of which are indented. In the centre of the area, within one of the indented square subdivisions, is a scallop shell; and within a square subdivision on each side of it, is a representation resembling a doorway.<sup>9</sup> (see plate, fig. 1., from a coin in my own Collection.)

We now proceed to describe the remarkable variation in the type of the particular coin of Zancle more immediately under consideration.—This variation is observable on the object which I have hitherto looked upon as the blade of a sickle.<sup>10</sup> It is well known that this curved object is always thin; sometimes pointed at each end, and sometimes obtuse at one end and pointed at the other,—but on the coin in question it rises suddenly, and is much more elevated than usual on its outer edge, from which it slopes gradually to the inner edge, where it meets the field of the coin. On the sloping side of this curved object, are four slight elevations, the square shape of each of which is indicated by an outer line; but their precise form is in other respects indistinct. They are situated at about equal distances from each other and from the two ends of the curved object; the extremities of which terminate as usual, one being rather pointed and the other obtuse.

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a sickle, though it always appeared to me singular that the object should be invariably ill-defined on all the coins I had seen.

<sup>9</sup> On all the coins which I have examined, the upper part of the two door-ways is *always square*.—The coin figured by *Torremuzza*, *Plate 45*, *fig. 9*. which exhibits one of the doors *arched* at the top, I conceive to have originated in an error of the engraver.

<sup>10</sup> Until the recent discovery of the coin in question had led me to search through most of the works of those Numismatic writers who have described or commented upon Sicilian coins, I was not aware that although most of them have cited all the ancient authorities relative to Zancle, no one, from Paruta in 1612, down to our own times, ever connected the ancient accounts, with the representation in question, except the late R. P. Knight Esq.; in whose catalogue (4to. 1830) p. 231 we find it described as "*Semicirculus fulcem indicans, quæ nomen significat.*"

A more correct idea, however, than any description can convey, will be obtained by a reference to the plate (fig. 2.) from an inspection of which it is presumed that it will appear evident, that the peculiar representation under consideration is *architectural*; and however unusual, or improbable, such representations on coins of such an ancient period must be confessed to be, we are irresistibly forced to admit the belief, that the type of the obverse of this coin, taken altogether, represents *the port of Zancle*:—the fortified pier,<sup>11</sup> or mole, which formed the harbour, being represented by the curved object; and the water being indicated by the dolphin, the well known symbolic mode of representing the sea. Instances of such representations are by no means of very rare occurrence on coins of a later period.—We might instance, among the Roman series of large brass, the well known coins of Nero, with the port of Ostia most curiously and elaborately represented upon them; as well as the port of Cenchreæ<sup>12</sup> on a remarkable Greek-imperial coin struck at Corinth, published by a distinguished member of this Society: the port of Side<sup>13</sup> in Pamphylia, published by Mionnet; and many others.

The topography of the port and town of Zancle is so singularly illustrated by a modern medal, struck in honour

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<sup>11</sup> Pausanias (Messeniæ, cap. xxiii) expressly mentions *the fortified port* of the Zancleans, and their piratical habits in early times. I avoided citing his authority as to the period of Anaxilaus, as there is an error in his account which would make the age of the coins of Zancle nearly two centuries earlier than the time to which they belong.—The mistake of Pausanias is ably proved and discussed by Larcher, in the notes to his translation of Herodotus, vol. v. p. 387, et seq., and in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 257, and vol. ii. p. 32. B. C. 476.

<sup>12</sup> Millingen, pl. 2. fig. 19, *Recueil de quelques Médailles Grécques inédites*, 4to, Rome 1812.

<sup>13</sup> Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii. page 79, No. 246. See also Millingen's *Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins of Greek Cities and Kings*, 4to. London, 1837 (plate 3. fig. 53.)

of Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, on the taking of Messina in the year 1719, that I make no apology for submitting it to the notice of the Society; particularly as it seems calculated to remove any doubt which a person, losing sight of the peculiar shape of the harbour of Zancle, might be disposed to entertain of the correctness of the foregoing remarks (see plate, fig. 3).—The well-known story, related in explanation of the name and shape of the town of Zancle, has been already alluded to; nor is it strange that the curved shape of the neck of land running out into the sea, and forming the harbour, and which is visible from the town, should have given rise to the fable that the sickle of Saturn fell there.

That the square elevations observable on the fortified pier, or mole of Zancle, were intended to represent towers, there appears no reason to doubt.—It is, however, possible that they serve to indicate projecting stones to which the gallies were moored.<sup>14</sup> Be this as it may, the discovery of the truly interesting coin under consideration, referable as it has been shewn to be, to so early a period as 500 to 600 years B. C., must be looked upon as very important in an archæological point of view. It not only affords a complete and satisfactory elucidation of a type, the true meaning of which has been hitherto unsuspected, but may no doubt be safely regarded as affording a clue to the meaning of the reverse also.

Having ascertained, from the consideration of the obverse of this coin, that the Greeks had adopted and practised,

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<sup>14</sup> When I visited the ruins of Teios, in 1812, I remarked extensive remains of the ancient mole which formed the port of that city; and where enormous stones projected laterally at intervals of 10 feet:—the projecting extremity of each being perforated, so as to admit the cables of the gallies.—These perforations were about one foot in diameter; and in their use corresponded to the large iron rings on modern wharfs.

at that early period, a mode of combining a symbolical with a conventional representation of such an object as *a port*, we may now, I think, without incurring the charge of being visionary or fanciful, advance a step further, and inquire whether the reverse of the same coin may not be susceptible of *an analogous mode of explanation*.—Whether the scallop shell,—perhaps as symbolic of Venus, or Neptune,—surrounded by the indented square, and the various other square and triangular divisions and door-shaped indentations, is not to be taken altogether as a conventional and symbolical representation of *a Temple of Venus*, or of *the Town of Zancle itself* with a temple of Venus or Neptune in the midst of it.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the older authors appear to have had an opinion somewhat similar to mine. It was remarked by Froelich,<sup>16</sup> when speaking of the divisions on the reverse, “*queis aut urbis munimenta, aut portus anfractus designabantur.*” Eckhel<sup>17</sup> coincides with Froelich, and says, “*per areolas portasque rudem aliquam urbis ipsius speciem videtur obijcere.*” Pellerin, however, combats such explanations, and considers the indentations and divisions as merely

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<sup>15</sup>It is even *possible* that it might be the representation of a tomb;—nor would the scallop shell in the centre militate against such an opinion, *should there hereafter appear any confirmatory reasons for the supposition*. I can myself testify, that nothing is more usual than the discovery of shells, generally of the pecten class, in ancient Athenian tombs, although we are, I believe, ignorant of the motive which induced the ancients to deposit them. I possess many specimens which I found myself, as well as a very well preserved scallop shell, which was also discovered in a sepulchre at Athens, by M. Fauvel, the late French Consul there. It may be further remarked that the usage of placing bivalve shells in tombs which are referable to a period of at least 200 to 300 years B. C. must at that time have been a very ancient custom.

<sup>16</sup>Notitiæ Element. Tab. 2 fig. 14. page 24.

<sup>17</sup>Doct. Num. Vet. vol. i. p. 220.

contrived to prevent the coin from slipping during the operation of striking.<sup>18</sup> It is reasonable to presume, however, that had he seen the coin which we have been considering, he would have thought otherwise.

Before I conclude, I may be permitted, on this occasion, to make known an opinion which I have long held, that the object usually called the *quadratum incusum*, or indented square, on the reverses of early Greek coins, has a distinct meaning:—particularly on such coins as those of Ægina, Chios, Corinth, Corcyra, Dyrrachium, Acanthus, Cos, Byzantium, and many others.—I was originally led to form this general opinion by various coincidences and observations which it would be foreign to the subject of this paper to particularize; but have been fearful of advert-ing to the subject, owing to the want of some such confirmation as this new coin of Zancle affords, added to my inability to offer any specific and satisfactory explanation of either of the various reverses alluded to; and above all, the fear of being fanciful or visionary.—At some future opportunity, however, I may now possibly avail myself of the light thrown on the subject by this coin of Zancle, to bring such a question before this Society,—and dismiss it for the present, as it would be out of place.

THOMAS BÜRGON.

11, Brunswick Square, 12th March, 1840.

P.S. It is due to a worthy Member of this Society, Mr. Doubleday, to state, that a careful examination of the peculiarity observable on this coin of Zancle, had led him to form an opinion respecting the architectural meaning of its obverse, approaching as nearly as possible to my own view; and I have also pleasure in acknowledging the

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<sup>18</sup> Recueil, vol. iii. p. 103.



courtesy with which he abandoned an intention he had entertained of presenting a paper to this Society on the subject, on finding that I was about to do the same thing, and had prepared the preceding remarks.

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### NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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ESSAI SUR LES MEDAILLES DES ROIS PERSES, DE LA DYNASTIE SASSANIDE. Par ADRIEN DE LONGPERIER. Paris, 1840.

THE history of the Sassanian kings, who reigned in Persia for four centuries, from A.D. 223 to A.D. 632, although abounding with events of both political and religious importance, has been very imperfectly transmitted to us. The entire disappearance of the literature of Persia prior to the Mohammedan conquest, has removed whatever the Persians of an earlier date might have preserved of their national annals; and we are left to glean the scanty knowledge we possess of them from the incidental notices which occur in the Greek writers of the lower empire, or the Mohammedan chroniclers who have treated of Persia since the country was converted to the faith of Islam. The information that is yielded by the former, although interesting, is necessarily limited to the occasions on which the two kingdoms came into contact or collision. These, it is true, were not unfrequent; but they were partial and unconnected. The Mohammedan writers, attaching little interest to the vicissitudes of a people professing a religion which they peculiarly abhor, have taken little pains in their investigation, and have left us scarcely more than a barren series of names and successions, the former of which cannot always be recognised with confidence in the mode in which they are

expressed by the Greek writers. Fortunately, however, for the credit of both classes of historians, the medals of the Sassanian kings present us with the right readings and confirm the general accuracy, whilst they correct the nomenclature of the different authorities. The general concurrence of the Mohammedan accounts with those of the Constantinopolitan annalists, is a proof that they derived their knowledge from original works, and thus at once bear witness to the existence of native Persian chronicles, and give us greater reason to regret their loss.

In this dearth of historical details, then, we gladly have recourse to all such additional particulars as the coins of the Sassanian kings may be expected to afford. These exist in considerable numbers, but they are dispersed in various private and public collections, and have not yet been brought together for the purpose of that collation, which in almost all cases is essential to give to coins and medals the character of trust-worthy witnesses of historic truth; especially when the execution of individual specimens is imperfect, or has been injured by time, and the legends which they may bear can only be deciphered by an extended comparison of a number of more or less defective individuals. This is, in a peculiar degree, the case with the Sassanian coins, in which the inscriptions are in very different stages of perfection, and have in most cases apparently been engraved with little care or precision.

For the first deciphering of the coins of the Sassanian kings, we are indebted to the late illustrious orientalist, Sylvestre de Sacy. A few of them had been previously known to antiquarians and numismatists, who, from the type on the reverse, which was plainly a fire altar, agreed in referring them to this dynasty of Persian kings, by whom the worship of fire and the elements had been, if not alto-

gether restored, yet according to the Parsees themselves reanimated by royal encouragement. No one had, however, undertaken to decipher the legends which were distinguishable upon these coins, when M. de Sacy's attention was directed to the inscriptions on the rocks at Nakshi Rustam, published by Niebuhr and Chardin, and other travellers in Persia, with greater or less exactness. These inscriptions were threefold, one set being in Greek, the other two in characters previously unknown. Having, with great learning and ingenuity supplied and corrected the deficiencies in the Greek, M. de Sacy next shewed that it was a translation of the other inscriptions, which, although in characters and dialects apparently different, were allied to each other and to the Pehlevi and Zend; and with the key afforded by the Greek version, he made out these inscriptions to denote the purport of certain sculptures which they accompanied, and which represented Sapor, the son of Ardeshir, the second of the Sassanian kings. These sculptures and inscriptions have since been further delineated and described by Sir Robert Ker Porter, Sir William Ouseley, Mr. Morier, who upon the whole confirm M. de Sacy's conclusions: at present we have only to advert to them as connected with the coins, a connection intimated at the close of M. de Sacy's first memoir, read in 1787, and fully established in a subsequent memoir, presented to the Academy, in 1790. In this second paper, M. de Sacy shewed that the characters on the Sassanian coins were similar to those on the rocks of Nakshi Rustam, and that the same terms were employed in association with the name of the individual prince in whose reign the coin had been struck. M. de Sacy's memoir was illustrated by drawings of eighteen Sassanian coins, attributed by him to Ardeshir, Sapor, Behram, Balash, and Shahriar.

The memoirs of M. de Sacy were published in 1793, in a separate form, as "*Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*," and they still continue the principal authority for this branch of numismatist research. Few additions of any importance have been made, in the forty-seven years that have since elapsed, to our acquaintance with the Sassanian medals. In 1801, Sir W. Ouseley, in a work now rarely procurable, "*Observations on Medals and Gems bearing ancient Persic characters*," read the name of Khosroes on some specimens, and deciphered that of Vahrahan on a gold coin, on which it had not before been read. Visconti repeated the coins of his predecessors in his *Iconography*, with that greater beauty and precision which his skill and experience ensured. Tychsen added a coin of Izdegerd to the list, and these were embodied in the general description of Mionnet, vol. v. Sir Robert K. Porter, in his travels, published some new specimens, and others have been engraved or noticed in Sir W. Ouseley's "*Travels in Persia*," and Marsden's "*Numismata Orientalia*." Still it is very true, as observed by the author of the work before us, that although nearly half a century has passed away since the illustrious associate of the French Academy laid the foundation of Sassanian numismatics, no one has yet thought of taking a comprehensive view of all the monuments relating to the subject. Yet, as he justly remarks, the abundance of this class of medals which travellers have of late years brought to Europe ought to have stimulated the zeal of antiquarians, and opened their eyes to the value and use of a series of coins which requires only to be classified.

In order to supply this desideratum, Mons. Adrien de Longperier has published his essay upon the medals of the Sassanian kings of Persia, and has furnished invaluable assistance to this department of research. One reason,

probably, why M. de Sacy's discoveries have been so feebly prosecuted by his successors, was the incomplete mode in which the alphabetical details were illustrated. In the absence of types to represent the legends, they are given in his text in Hebrew letters, and the eye therefore is deprived of the advantage of becoming familiar with them in the progress of perusal. In the engravings of the legends and of the alphabets, they are also compared with the Hebrew characters alone—not with the Roman or modern Persian; and consequently it was necessary to be conversant with the Hebrew letters to become acquainted with those of the coins. It was also very soon evident, upon applying the key to the medals, that there was either great carelessness and want of skill in the representation of them on the coins, or that there were many varieties of the characters in use. Both these causes of embarrassment are now shewn by M. de Longperier to prevail. That which arises from the rudeness of the work cannot be remedied; but in the excellent table which he has given of the alphabet and its varieties, and in the distinctly legible manner in which the legends of the coins are printed along with the descriptions of them, he has furnished facilities of which the good effects will, we doubt not, be sensibly felt, and will have advanced the study of Sassanian medals by a period fully equal to that which has intervened since the date of M. de Sacy's memoirs.

The number of coins described by M. de Longperier is seventy-three; of these he has delineated sixty-eight in a very neat manner, and, as we can vouch from a comparison with some in our possession, with entire fidelity. The descriptions are prologued by a short account of the princes to whom the coins belong. The only Sassanian kings to whom no coins are assigned are, Hormisdas I., A.D. 271,

273; Izdegerd II., A.D. 440, 457; and Izdegerd III., A.D. 631, 632. Coins of the remaining twenty-eight princes of this dynasty—and in several instances in considerable variety—are found. That in all cases the assignment is indisputable the author himself does not pretend; and it may be doubted, in some instances in which the inscription is imperfect, if he is correct. It seems improbable, for example, that Izdegerd II., who enjoyed a prosperous reign of seventeen years, should have left no numismatic record; and the omission probably proceeds, as M. de Longperier admits, from the difficulty of determining to which of the two princes denominated Izdegerd the coins that bear his name should be ascribed; other coins are wanting to determine the question. There are some other questionable appropriations, the merit of which cannot well be rendered intelligible without the aid of engravings; for instance, in the coin of Artaxerxes, No. 4 of the first plate, the characters, it is admitted, do not represent the name, and have been differently read. There is a difference also in the ornaments of the tiara. There can, however, be little reason to doubt that it is a coin of Artaxerxes, from the similarity of countenance and general style of the head. Again, of the two gold coins, 1, 2, of plate vi., ascribed to Sapor II., chiefly on the ground of resemblance of feature, the legend being indistinct, it may be doubted if they should not rather be considered as coins of Sapor I., as the absence of the supporters of the fire altar, heretofore regarded as confined to the coins of the first Artaxerxes, might be referred to a reign following his with more consistency than to one the eighth in succession—a different type having been in use through the seven intervening reigns—the types of the obverse offering nothing that decidedly militate against the coins belonging

to Sapor I. Upon these and various other doubtful points, however, further light will no doubt be thrown by the publication of a work which we have been in hopes of seeing before this—a worthy counterpart to the work of M. de Longperier, by R. Stewart, Esq. Several of the plates have been engraved, and afford valuable means of instituting a comparison with those now published, as well as many specimens not delineated by M. de Longperier. If to these could be added a judicious selection from the Sassanian coins of the British Museum and at the India House, we are disposed to think that very few doubts or difficulties would obstruct our ready recognition of the medals of the Sassanian kings. Those of the early princes, Ardeshir, Sapor, Behram, and others, are already objects of comparatively easy determination, owing to their superior execution, their characteristic types, and in general the greater legibility of the names. The perplexities, as usual, grow out of the declining fabrication of the coins of the later kings. The inquiry is highly deserving of prosecution, not only for the service it is likely to render to history, but the information it is calculated to afford respecting the written and spoken language of Persia and other Asiatic countries during the interval between the Macedonian and the Mohammedan conquests.

M. de Longperier announces, at the close of his essay, a work upon the Indian, Arabic, and Armenian copies of the Sassanian coins, of which he has collected numerous impressions. The subject is curious. We are not acquainted with the latter description; but late years have produced infinite numbers of both the former. The Indian have usually the name of a prince in Sanscrit letters. The Arabic imitations, or rather adaptations of the Sassanian coins are characterised, as is well known, by the use of

Mohammedan religious phrases on the margin; but both they and the Hindoo coins have also characters in the field of the coin, which are peculiar and undeciphered. There is also a class of Indo-Sassanian coins of the time of Sapor III., and Behram I., found in the Topes of Afghanistan, which offer a number of peculiarities that remain to be investigated. The work that M. de Longperier proposes, therefore, to engage in, will be not less replete with interest and instruction than that which has been the subject of our present remarks.

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## MISCELLANIES.

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### THE ROETTIERS.

*To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

MR. EDITOR,—I had recently the honour of addressing to you a short paper on the subject of the Roettiers, the well-known medallists and engravers, and which appeared in the last number of your Chronicle. Within these few days, a paper in the handwriting of the late Mr. James Bindley, the eminent book and coin collector, and signed with his initials, has, by the merest chance, come into my possession, containing some very interesting notices of the Roettier family, communicated by a relative, of which I hasten to forward you a copy for insertion in your next number. You will observe that it is stated by Mr. Bindley to have been copied from a manuscript belonging to the late Mr. Thomas Snelling. Can any of your readers or correspondents state whether that (the original paper) is still to be found, or whether its existence has been known to any of the present generation of numismatists?

B. NIGHTINGALE.

17, Upper Stamford-street, 12th May, 1840.

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*Additions to Mr. Walpole's account of the family of the Roettiers, the medallists, in England and France, with a continuation, from the information of one of the family.*

JOHN ROTIER, Roti (as I have seen it spelt on a medal), or Roettiers, as it has been of late years and is now written by the family, came over to England soon after the Restoration. He would not come over without his two brothers Joseph and Philip. John had two sons, of whom James the eldest died of a fall from his horse, in England, about the age of thirty-five. He was born here in 1663. He left two sons, and five daughters.

Norbert, the second son of John, was born at Antwerp, whither his mother went to lie in, from England, on account

of the plague then there, in 1665. He quitted England soon after the Revolution, and returned to France, where he had the office of *Graveur général des Monnoies*. He died there, aged 62, in May, 1727, leaving a son named James, born in 1707.

Norbert has put the initials of his name, viz. N. R., on the medals he did for the Stuart family, particularly on a large one of Charles I., with an inscription on the reverse—see it in Evelyn; on one of the Pretender when young, *Rev.* a ship, “*Jactatur non mergitur undis;*” another of the same when older, with his titles of King of England, *Rev.* his sister Louisa, with her titles. He also put his initials on several French medals, which I have seen, of his engraving.

James, the son of Norbert, was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1707, and had the Pretender for his god-father. He was brought up in the art of design, particularly sculpture, was king's pensioner, obtained the prize, and was going to Rome with the Cardinal de Rohan, but his father was advised to let him be instructed in the principles of medal-graving before he went, which he soon learnt; but before it was thought proper for him to go to Rome his father died, leaving him and two sisters. In 1730, he came over to England, with his first-cousin James, son of James, the (then) present engraver at Antwerp. His intent was to obtain leave to strike the medals of the Twelve Cæsars, and those of the Duchesses of Mazarin, Portsmouth, and Richmond, and some others engraved by his grandfather John, upon whose death his father Norbert procured all the dies that were his property, having satisfied his relations for their claims upon them. The late Sir Hans Sloane and Doctor Mead encouraged the design as much as possible, and promised Mr. James Roettiers to lodge him in the Mint, which he declined. They also desired him to engrave a series of the illustrious men of Great Britain, and Mr. Conduit procured him drawings of Newton, Locke, &c. He was advised by Dr. Mead to leave the twelve Cæsars just as they were, without any legend round the head, and to put the name on the reverse in a crown of laurel, which he accordingly afterwards performed. He also engraved the head of Newton, to which he put his name, with a Reverse; date, 1739. He also engraved a head of the Duke of Beaufort; and as his grandfather had engraved one of the Duke's father, which was damaged or broke, he engraved it afresh, and gave the late Duke one or two of each, which are all that were ever struck. Returning from England by way of Antwerp, his relation, Philip, the son of Philip, who was brother to his grandfather John,

offered him the use of the press there gratis. When he got home to Paris, he shortly after married the only daughter of the King's goldsmith, who died much about that time, and he succeeded to that employ. He has a son in partnership with him, who is a good sculptor, and has made a bust of the King, his master, Louis XV., and another (as I am informed) of the Duke of Choiseul. James Roettiers, upon the death of his father, Norbert, had a patent granted him by the Pretender to be his engraver-general for England in his stead. I have a medal of John Locke, engraved by him, with his name under it; but I should believe he never did a Reverse for it as my proof has an inscription on the back, with the date, M, DCCLXXIV.

Joseph Roettiers, the next brother to John, came over into England with him. He was two years younger than John. He returned to France, upon the invitation of Mons. Colbert, in 1678, to succeed Warin, who died in 1675. Before he went back his brother advised him not to accept of the place of engraver without the press. Mons. Colbert dying, after he had been employed as engraver about a year without the press, he was informed that the king meant to put the press in charge (I suppose this means, to sale), and as there was owing to him 20,000 livres, if he would pay as much more, which was the price it was put at, he should have the refusal of it; but he was dissuaded from it by his wife, and immediately Mons. de Launay, the king's goldsmith, purchased it, and Joseph continued till his death, in 1703, only graveur-general, without the press, which alone is worth three times the other place—as did his nephew, Norbert; his son, who follows; and his grandson. There is a print of Joseph Roettiers, by ———.

He had two sons, of whom the eldest, named George, was private engraver to the King of France, where he died; his youngest son, of a second marriage, was called Charles-Joseph, and was engraver-general (probably succeeding his cousin Norbert in that office) of the money of France. There are several medals engraved by him, and Hedlinger has engraved a medal of him. He died in....., leaving a son, who had the reversion of his place; who also has engraved several medals, the mark on which I have observed to be *Roettiers Fils.f.*

Philip, the second brother of John, was about twelve years younger than he, and was young when he came to England. He quitted England soon after his brother Joseph, and died in Flanders. His son Philip succeeded him in his place there; and he was succeeded in the same by his cousin James,

the son of that James who died in England of a fall from his horse. The first Philip was engraver to the King of Spain, in the Low Countries.

Catalogue of a part of the dies that Mr. Roettiers, goldsmith to His Majesty (of France) has now in his hands, which were engraved by his grandfather, John Roettiers, which have never yet been struck.

1. The twelve Cæsars.
2. The Duchess of Mazarin.
3. Ditto of Richmond.
4. Ditto of Portsmouth.
5. The Elector of Bavaria.
6. Charles Vandenbosch, Bp. of Ghent. N.B. His first medal.
7. Two figures before an altar. "Fulmine sancitur."
8. A head of James II., rather old, without inscription.
9. Another ditto smaller.
10. A Reverse, with Britannia sitting on a rock, crowned with a laurel wreath by two boys—two ships before her. N.B. This seems unfinished.
11. One with the heads of James II. and his Queen—like that of Bowers's—"Naufragâ Repertâ."

Published —

Charles II.

1. Felicitas Britannia. N.B. The head by Joseph.
2. Nullum Numen abest.
3. Institutor Augustus, 1673.
4. Favente Deo., full bust.
5. Another with two heads.
6. Fidei Defensori, Religionis reformatæ Protectori, &c.
7. Diffusus in orbe Britannus.
8. Catharina, D.G. Mag. Brit. Franc. &c. Middle size.
9. Catherine, Pietate Insignis.
10. Redeant commercia Flandris, only Reverse.
11. Pro talibus Ausis, ditto.
12. Arms, without inscription, ditto.

James II. Nec Minor, in Terris.

Genus Antiquum. Inscription in a scroll.

Mary. Head of her Coronation, and Rev. of James II.  
Reverse of Lauderdale.

Head of Charles I., the largest size.

Reverse of another, Rex Pacificus Victus Vincebat, &c.,  
by Norbert Roetier.

Reverse of a Medal of William and Mary on the sea fight,  
1692.

Laud, and Reverse.

Strangeways, and Reverse.

Count Monteregius, and Reverse.

Charles II. of Spain. Flandriæ Ostendæ.

Copied from an old paper, belonging to the late Mr. Thos.  
Snelling. J. B.

Jan. 15th, 1776.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CROSBY HALL.—A Premium of Ten Guineas will be awarded for an approved design for a MEDAL connected with the fine arts, and having reference more especially to English architecture and sacred music. The drawings are to be sent on or before October 31, 1840, to Crosby Hall, or to Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill, where further particulars may be obtained.

The umpires will not hold themselves engaged to make an award, if they do not consider any of the designs submitted to them of sufficient merit to be adopted. In such case the premium will be reserved for future competition.

GOLD COIN OF TRAJAN.—Mr. Skaife, of Blackburn, informs us, that, "On the 28th of May last, a boy was amusing himself on the banks of the Ribble, just below the school at Ribchester, with throwing stones at the swallows as they flitted past him. He had caught up a handful of gravel, and was about to throw it off, when some glittering object in the midst arrested his attention: on closer inspection, it was discovered to be a gold coin of Trajan. *Obv.*—Laureated head. *R.*—COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. In the exergue, ALIM. ITAL. The emperor distributing gifts to two children."

SILVER PENNIES FOUND AT SWANSEA.—The purchaser of the property on the south side of Temple-street, having determined to remove the ruins of the Manor House, for the erection of new shops, the workmen proceeded with its demolition. While engaged in taking down the square tower opposite the Branch Bank of England, a beam from the first floor was forced into the street, carrying with it a vessel containing a number of coins. The vessel was described to me by those who saw it, as being of brown earthenware, and

very like a common pipkin; but, although I made a most careful search, I failed to get even a fragment of it, the finders being so eager in getting possession of the coin, threw the vessel into the rubbish close by, and it was carted away from the spot. By the kindness of the possessors I have been enabled to examine the greater part, if not the whole of the hoard, which consisted of—

- 154 Pennies of Edward I.
- 4 ——— of Alexander III. of Scotland.
- 4 Counterfeit sterlings.
- 3 Illegible.

Making in the whole 166 coins, of the following various mints:—

London . . . . .	80
Canterbury . . . . .	33
Durham . . . . .	9
Bristol . . . . .	12
St. Edmundsbury . . . . .	4
Dublin . . . . .	3
Newcastle . . . . .	2
York . . . . .	2
Lincoln . . . . .	2
Berwick . . . . .	1
Robert de Hadleigh . . . . .	1

Total . 154

The legends on the obverses are EDW.—EDWA.—or EDWAR. R. ANG. DNS. HYB.; and on the Scotch coins, ALEXANDER. DEI. GRA., with REX SCOTOTUM carried to the reverse as usual. It is said that the Mansion House was not erected earlier than the reign of Henry VII., *circa* 1500, but the finding of these coins seems to indicate otherwise.<sup>1</sup> G. G. FRANCIS.

*Swansea, 1st May, 1840.*

M. LELEWEL, the author of the *Numismatique du Moyen Age*, announces for publication a work under the title, *Etudes Numismatiques et Archeologiques*. The first volume is devoted to the *Type Gaulois*. The work will appear in numbers at three francs each, and may be obtained through the publishers of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

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<sup>1</sup> The finding of a hoard of coins of an earlier date is by no means conclusive; the money of the preceding monarchs, in all probability, circulated in England even after this period.—*Editor*.

**GREEK COINS OF THE DUC DE LUYNES.**—The *Revue Numismatique* announces the appearance of twenty-seven Plates, engraved in the very first style of art, from coins in the cabinet of the Duc de Luynes, a French nobleman well known for his taste and judgment in this department of Archaeology. The text is promised shortly. It is not stated whether the work is intended for publication or private distribution.

**COINS OF EMPORIUM.**—The *Revue Numismatique* for March and April (No. 2, 1840), contains, besides other excellent papers, a notice of several remarkable coins of Emporium, having on the reverse the figure of a Pegasus, which on a casual inspection might be supposed to be of the ordinary description, as found on the coins of Corinth, &c., but which, on a careful examination, are discovered to offer some remarkable peculiarities, *the head of the Pegasus being formed entirely by a small naked male figure*. These singular coins have not altogether escaped the notice of numismatists. The memoir is illustrated by two excellent plates of examples, to which we must refer our readers.

We recommend to the collectors of Saxon coins the perusal of M. Cartier's memoir, entitled, *Supplément à la VII<sup>e</sup>. Lettre sur l'Histoire Monétaire de France*, which appears in this number of the *Revue*. These coins should be studied in connection with the early pieces denominated *skeattas*; and those who are disposed to enter on the subject, will find M. Cartier a very sound and able instructor.

**POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION, REGENT STREET.**—The directors of this excellent establishment have lately added to their interesting and instructive collection of machinery, for illustrating the arts and sciences, a press, to exhibit to the public the process of mintage, so that visitors can now, by paying an extra trifle, see the mode adopted for striking coins, and possess a good specimen of modern medal engraving. The dies have been executed by A. J. Stothard, and may be pronounced a very successful effort of this artist's skill. The obverse presents the heads of the Queen and Prince Albert, and on the reverse is that of Minerva, from an antique gem.

**DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT COINS AND OTHER TREASURE NEAR PRESTON.**—On the evening of the 15th May last, a number of workmen, engaged in repairing the southern

embankment of the river Ribble, near Cuerdale Hall, and about three miles from Preston, were agreeably surprised by the discovery of a hidden treasure, which had for many centuries lain inhumed in that delightful and secluded vale, within three feet of the surface of the pasture, and about thirty yards from the edge of the river. A portion of the earth, under the spot where the treasure lay, having been previously removed, the leaden case, which was in a very corroded state, was crushed to pieces by the fall, aided by the weight of the superincumbent soil, and disclosed its extensive and varied treasures before the astonished gaze of the workmen, who immediately set up a simultaneous shout. This attracted the attention of the hind of Cuerdale Hall, who, hastening to the place, found the workmen collected around the treasure, in the act of a general scramble, each endeavouring to obtain the greatest share of the booty. The hind, however, lost little time in informing them that they must return the property, adding that the pieces of metal were probably of pewter, or solder, and consequently of little value, and that the coins appeared to be nothing more than tin counters. Upon this, the greater part was unpocketed, and, being collected together, the treasure was conveyed to the Hall, deposited in a tub of water, and well washed with a birch-besom, and on the following day deposited in the Old Bank of Preston. William Assheton, Esq., now in Florence, is the owner of the property where the discovery was made. The ingots of silver, annulets, neck-chains, rings, and other ornaments, are stated to weigh about sixty-three pounds, whilst the coins, including the wooden box in which they are enclosed and a portion of the fragments of the leaden case, the hind tells me, weigh twelve pounds, being about half the weight given in the papers. A portion of the coins and other antiques still remain at the Hall for the inspection of visitors, whilst some of these relics of by-gone days are stated to have found their way into the hands of private individuals; and this is not improbable, as several pieces, it is said, have, by diligent scratching, been gleaned from the soil since the bulk was removed to the bank.

If it may be allowed to judge of the whole from those exhibited at the Hall, and from casts taken from some of the coins in possession of Mr. Assheton's agent, I should say, that not more than a third part are Anglo-Saxon, the remainder being foreign, chiefly French, with probably a mixture of prelatical coins from other parts of the Continent, and a few even bearing characters similar to those of the Cufic coins, described in a late number of your interesting *Chronicle*.



The Anglo-Saxon coins are chiefly of St. Eadmund, Alfred, Edward the elder, and Athelstan; and, as the last-named monarch died in the year 941, the coins have probably been buried for a period of about nine centuries. I have also seen a penny of Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, of a type similar to Plate XII. fig. 4, Ruding; this last, however, is stated to have been found near Ribchester. Scarcely any two of the Ecclesiastical pennies of St. Eadmund have the same reverse, and most of them are probably unpublished, as well as St. Eadmund's halfpenny, of which I have seen only one specimen. With regard to the coins of Alfred, several types occur, and one in particular, that appears unpublished: its beautiful reverse is not, I believe, found on any Anglo-Saxon coin figured by Ruding: it is in the possession of the hind at Cuerdale Hall. Several moneyers' names are found, not to be met with in Ruding's list. The rarest, however, of Alfred's coins is his halfpenny, not hitherto known to exist,\* of which a cast has been shown me, bearing the moneyer's name, Aberht; and another specimen, bearing on its reverse the London monogram. With respect to the pennies of Alfred, it may be observed, that the greater number appear to be of the type without the portrait and place of mintage. Of the Oxford type, comparatively few specimens occur, and much fewer still of those bearing the portrait. Of the pennies of Edward the elder, bearing the portrait, I have only seen two; they are in fine preservation, but differ materially in the form of the head from those appropriated to this monarch by Ruding. Of Athelstan's pennies I have not seen or heard of one bearing the bust.

The French coins are of Charles le Chauve, Louis le Begue, &c.; and several occur bearing the names of towns, among which may be mentioned Bourges, Evreux, Limoges, Orleans, Quentin, Toulouse, and Tours; and of some of these in denominations smaller than the usual size. One, of Toulouse, bears on the obverse "Oddo Rex." There are also several coins which I am unable satisfactorily to appropriate, bearing on one side, "Cunnetti," and others, of a nearly similar type and fabric, with "Siefredus Rex," "Mirabilia fecit," &c.

The ownership of the property is undecided, and will probably become a question between the Crown and Mr. Assheton, as agents for both parties have already put in their respective claims.

Many opinions and speculations are afloat as to the original

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\* A specimen was obtained by a collector in London sometime before the discovery of this hoard.—ED.

owner of the treasure, and the circumstances under which it was buried. With these vague surmises I will not trouble your readers, but rather consult the history of the eventful times in which the property in question appears to have been concealed. We find that, in the reign of Athelstan, Northumbria was in a very disturbed state, that the king of the Scots eagerly sought to free himself from his dependence on the English monarch, and that, with this view, he entered into alliance with Howel, king of Wales; and, although the powerful army of Athelstan was irresistible, that Anlaf shortly afterwards made a desperate attempt to reconquer the Northumbrian dominions. The celebrated battle of Brunanburgh was fought, and never before, it is stated, was such a carnage known in England. Does it not appear probable, then, that some powerful Northumbrian chieftain, relying on the numerous and hardy allies of Anlaf, might deposit his property in this solitary spot, to serve under the banners of the courageous Dane, and from which expedition he never returned? Athelstan was victorious, and to him belongs the glory of having established what has ever since been called the kingdom of England.

The charitable donations of the three immediate predecessors of Athelstan to the churches of Armorica, gave rise to an intercourse between the English and the transmarine Britons, who still lamented their banishment from the land of their fathers; and when the Normans, under Rollo, depopulated Bretagne, numbers of the natives sought and obtained an asylum under the protection of Athelstan. Edgiva, the sister of the English monarch, was also the consort of the French king, Charles the Simple. The circumstance, then, of a friendly intercourse thus subsisting between the two countries, may not unsatisfactorily account for the introduction of the immense number of French coins found in this hoard.

JOSEPH KENYON.

Preston, June 10th, 1840.

**DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS AT PEVENSEY CASTLE, SUSSEX.**—About three months since, some Roman small brass coins were discovered in the south bank of the Castle of Pevensey, close under the outer wall. By the courtesy of Mr. C. Brooker, of Alfriston, the proprietor of the coins, we are enabled to catalogue them as follows:—

Number of  
Specimens.

Two      **CONTANTINE THE YOUNGER.**

*Reverses—*

*Gloria Exercitus.* Two soldiers with standards.

Number of  
Specimens.

Eight CONSTANS.

*Reverses.*—

*Fel : Temp : Reparatio.* Soldiers dragging a captive. In exergue, R \* E.

The same, a smaller module. Phœnix on globe.

*Gloriæ Exercitus.* Two soldiers with standards. Two specimens.

*Victoriæ &c.* Two winged Victories with wreaths.

Four specimens similar.

Six MAGNENTIUS.

*Reverses.*—

*Salus, D D N N Aug. et Caes.* Monogram of Christ; in field, A Ω.

*Victoriæ Aug., &c.* Two Victories placing a shield, inscribed VOTV. MVLT. X, on the trunk of a tree.

Three of smaller modules.

*Gloria Romanorum.* In exergue, T R P Horseman riding over a fallen foe.

Six CONSTANTIUS (GALLUS).

*Reverses.*—

*Fel. Temp. Reparatio.* Foot soldier transfixing a prostrate enemy.

One similar.

Two specimens of smaller module.

*Victoriæ, Augg. N N, &c.* Victories with shield Similar, with wreaths.

Three VALENTINIAN.

*Reverses.*—

*Securitas Republicæ.* Victory marching.

Three VALENS.

*Reverses.*—

The same. In exergue of one, TERTIA.

One GRATIAN.

*Reverse.*—

*Gloria Romanorum.* In exergue, S M A. Warrior with labarum, &c. dragging a foe.

Four URBS ROMA.

*Reverses.*—

Wolf and child. In exergue, T R P

Two CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Defaced.

Five Minimi, several.

The bank in which these coins were found appears to have remained undisturbed since their deposit, whether it were

accidental or intentional. This is an instance in point of the utility to the topographer and historian of authenticated accounts of discoveries of ancient coins. The importance of the situation of Pevensey on the coast of Sussex is obvious, and could not have been overlooked by the Romans, who probably at an early period established there a military station, and re fortified it previous to their leaving Britain. The discovery of these coins, which close with Gratian, confirm this opinion, and will tend to urge an investigation of the architecture of the castle, which we may presume will be found of Roman origin. C. R. S.

**DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS.**—An urn filled with Roman small brass and base silver coins was brought to light by the plough, about two months since, in Charnwood Forest, near Loughborough, Leicestershire.

The field in which it was found is the property of Mr. Johnson, of Mount St. Bernard. It lies on the very highest point of the forest; and has never, within the memory of man, been before brought into cultivation. Fragments of other vases have recently been found near the spot, one only of which is at all singular. It is white, with a reticulated pattern in red, painted on the exterior. There were also found, pieces of the curved edge house-tiles\* but as the ground has only been examined to the depth of 9 or 10 inches, it is impossible to say whether there are other remains in the field: it is probable there are. The number of coins may be calculated to be about 1,500 or 2,000. With the exception of the 84 described beneath, and which were dislodged from the urn by the plough, they remain precisely as found in one mass, and may be inspected together with the detached ones, at Mr. Abrahams', 8, Bruton Street, Berkeley Square.

The latter are as follows:—

	No. of Specimens.
Philippus the elder. . . . .	1
Gallienus . . . . .	18
Salonina . . . . .	4
Valerianus the younger . . . . .	2
Postumus . . . . .	13
Victorinus . . . . .	22
Marius . . . . .	1
Claudius Gothicus . . . . .	9
Quintillus . . . . .	2
Tetricus the elder . . . . .	7
Tetricus the younger . . . . .	4
Probus. . . . .	1

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Total 84

\* and a  
Farley

Mr. Abrahams has been so kind as to promise permission at some future day to complete the investigation of this interesting collection.

C. R. S.

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### CORRESPONDENCE.

We have received, from time to time, repeated inquiries from our country friends, concerning the Medal, engraved to commemorate the establishment of the Numismatic Society. We have as yet seen no specimen in bronze or silver, but understand that impressions are now ready. Orders may be sent direct to the Artist, Mr. Alfred J. Stothard, 23, Arlington-street.



# CELTIBERIAN CHARACTERS.

Names of Towns.		Celtiberian	Phœnician	Ancient Greek	Later Greek	Hebrew	English
𐌱𐌴𐌱𐌰𐌶	<i>Belcia</i>	Λ				א	a
𐌱𐌴𐌴𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Bervical</i>	𐌱				ב	b
𐌱𐌶𐌴𐌱𐌶𐌶	<i>Bursaba</i>	𐌶				ג	g
𐌶𐌰𐌴𐌶𐌶	<i>Bobera</i>	Δ				ד	d
𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌶	<i>Bobera</i>	𐌶𐌶				ה	e
*𐌰𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Helmantica</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Aspataca?</i>	𐌶				ז	z
𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Ibe</i>	𐌶*	𐌶		𐌶	ח	ch
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Uduri</i>	𐌶				ט	th
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Neosea</i>	𐌶𐌶𐌶	𐌶			י	i
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Bmanici</i>	𐌶				כ	k
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Ipuagro</i>	𐌶𐌶𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	ל	l
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Celce</i>	𐌶	𐌶𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	מ	m
𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Cessa</i>	𐌶				נ	n
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Iibisona</i>	𐌶𐌶𐌶			𐌶	ו	o
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Lobetum</i>	𐌶				ז	s
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Merobriga</i>	𐌶𐌶				פ	p
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Meri</i>	𐌶𐌶	𐌶	𐌶		ק	q
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Orospeda</i>	𐌶𐌶𐌶	𐌶𐌶𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	ר	r
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Serabi</i>	𐌶				ש	sc
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Belcia</i>	𐌶				ת	t
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Spurio</i>						
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Thalbia</i>						
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Rhoda?</i>						
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶	<i>Sisipo</i>						

J. Barry, lithog.

London, Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower Street.

## VI.

## NOTES UPON A TYPE OF PHÆSTUS, IN CRETE.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH,

SENIOR ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 28th of May, 1840.]

No. 1.—ΛΕΑΧΑΝ (retrograde). A naked man seated profile to the right, holding a cock upon his left thigh by his right hand, his hair bound up in feminine manner, long and gathered at the back of his head; he is seated upon a tree, whose branches rise up behind and three appear before him.

No. 2.—R ΦΑΙΣΤ, (retr.) Ox walking to the left. R. 6½.

No. 3.—ΛΕΑΧΑΝΘΣ (retr.) the same type.

No. 4 —R ΦΑΙΣ, Ox butting to the right, all in a laurel crown. R. viz., (Cadav. vid. Not. 4 infra.)

THE coin which stands first on this list, and which belongs to the National Collection, was published in Combe's Catalogue<sup>1</sup>; and the description given after that of Eckhel, which appeared in the *Numi Veteres Anecdota*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*.<sup>3</sup> The legend is always uniform on this type, reading ΛΕΑΧΑΝ, ΛΕΑΧΑΝΘΣ retrograde. This, which is very archaic, is considered probably by Eckhel, and certainly by Cadavene,<sup>4</sup> to indicate the name of the magistrate; a fact not supported by the same denomination of coins with the types of Hercules also having the name of a magistrate.<sup>5</sup> Those, however, with what M. Mionnet calls

<sup>1</sup> Combe, Phaest. <sup>2</sup> Tab. x. fig. 5. p. 153. <sup>3</sup> Tom. ii. p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Cadav. Recueil des Medailles Grecq., 4to. Par. 1828, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> The only other legend that could be supposed to be the name of a magistrate is that read ΦΑΙΜΤΙΑΟΝ, by Eckhel, (Doct. Num. Vet. ii. p. 317.) and with ΛΕΑΧΑΝ supposed by him to be a foreign word, and the name of a magistrate. The unusual form of the E for such an era is curious as having escaped the notice of so sagacious an investigator, and the same type published by Mionnet (ij. p. 290 & pl. xxxv. No. 145) proves that the retrograde ΕΛιμτιαον is really ΝΟΑΙΤΜΙΑ Φαιστιαον, an ex-



a winged genius, bear the inscription ΤΑΑ, ΤΑΑΩΑ, and ΤΑΑΩΝ<sup>6</sup> which, it is possible, might be intended for the name of a magistrate. The first letter of the inscription, which is like a square sigma, is the Æolic Digamma, and from the example cited by Mr. Millingen on the coin, edited by him, of Hipponium, and its application among the Græco-Italian states, was apparently an H.<sup>7</sup> The difficulty of reading this name considerably embarrassed Eckhel, who felt disposed to consider it one of the Cretan dialect; if, however, according to the observations of Mr. Akerman, the ⊙ is a new power given to the O, or even the O itself,<sup>8</sup> the term is reducible to *Ἡελκανόος* or *Ἡελκανός*; in retaining the ⊙ it would be *Ἡελκανθς*. The only word approaching to either of them is that of Alcon, a Cretan archer;<sup>9</sup> but the dialect of Crete, which, like the mythology of that island, was dis-

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tremely archaic mode of writing *φαιστιαν* or *φαιστιων*. The ⊙ semicircular letter is either a form of the digamma I used for a φ, or an imperfect ω [Coins of Phocis or Phoea, φ for *φωκιαεων*] the M as a Σ in its most ancient form is attested by several monuments. Both these words much embarrassed Eckhel.

<sup>6</sup> This name recalls to mind that of Talus, son of Kres, and father of Hephaistos, and Talus the nephew of Dædalus. On the Hamilton vase No. 33, Hephaistus is called ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ, and he with Ares (*Ἐνεαλιος*) fights over Hera (*Ἥρα*) confined to the golden throne. If one could feel certain that the word ΤΑΑΩΝ referred to the figure, one would see in it the allusion to the metamorphosis of Talus into a partridge; if not Talus we might recognise Icarus; of Eros no other trace occurs either in the mythology or types. *Ταλων* is apparently, if rightly read, another form of the accusative *Ταλω* which is in the Attic declension *Ἵταλω*, and the whole mean "the Cretans to Talus." He holds in each hand a ball (*sphæra*), with which he is playing.

<sup>7</sup> For the value of this character, Cf. Eckhel, vol. ii. who quotes the words ΚΑΠΕ or ΚΑΠΙ, ΛΑΞΙΩΝ, when it has the value of *Καπου*, "Ἀξιων. While in ϞΙΞΤ it is supposed to be Σειρ for the name of the town Siris.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Inser. ΜΘΠ for Ποσ (*ειδωνια*) and ΟΟΥΡΙΩΝ for Θουριων. Mion. vol. i. p. 165, 170.

<sup>9</sup> Nonnus. Dionys. xiv.

similar from that of the other Greeks, is not to be analysed by the ordinary rules of Greek philology. I will, however, now proceed to consider the type of these remarkable coins, which have not hitherto, that I am aware of, received any certain explanation.

The types of deities bearing in their hands the vital emblems of their power are attested by a host of monuments: Poseidon holding the dolphin,<sup>10</sup> Thetis with the same fish,<sup>11</sup> Pallas-Athené holding on her hand the owl,<sup>12</sup> Aphrodite holding the flower,<sup>13</sup> are all to be found on monuments of the most ancient epochs. When the animal was too large, the sculptor or engraver placed it at the side; and thus are found Dionusos, and the pard<sup>14</sup> or goat,<sup>15</sup> Hephaistos or Hebon,<sup>16</sup> and the old Sileni with the ithyphallic mule,<sup>16</sup> Artemis and the hind Arge, Hermes and the ram;<sup>17</sup> while in the case of metamorphosis, the individual retained its anthropomorphic form, and the change was alluded to by the presence of the type, as Thetis with the snake round her arm,<sup>18</sup> or lion upon the back of Peleus; or else the human type was blended with the animal, as the Achelous with a bull's body and human head, or with a fish's body, the horned human head of the river Gelas, &c. One fine statue represents Apollo standing, having at his feet a swan;<sup>19</sup> and the evidence of the works of ancient art as frequently indicates the type of a god by the presence of an animal, as

<sup>10</sup> De Witte, *Des. des Vases*, 1837, p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> De Witte, *Desc. des Vases Peints*, 8vo. 1837, p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 6. p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Vase with two handles representing Hercules Musagetes, formerly in possession of Mr. Bainbridge.

<sup>18</sup> De Witte, *Vases Peints*, 1837, p. 81. 253.

<sup>19</sup> Mus. Cap. iii. pl. 15.

by that of the inanimate emblems. On the other hand, heroic personages seldom appear with animals, especially of the smaller kind; and no connection can be traced between the protean *επισημα*, or armorial bearings of the fictile vases and the subjects represented, while the recognition of Idomeneus on the present coin is totally unsupported by other monuments, since he must be the solitary hero thus represented. Again, there is no reason to assign to Idomeneus an androgynous type. Independent of the character, age, and circumstances of this hero never mentioning him in such a capacity, his form is rarely, if ever, seen upon works of ancient art, and, when depicted, was armed.<sup>18</sup> Neither does the androgynous type apply to the son of Maia, whose personification is almost always attended with the *kerukeion*, or caduceus, the winged *talaria*, and the *petasus*, the inseparable attire of the archaic forms of Hermes, who, on the contrary, on the fictile vases of the earlier epoch, is always bearded. There are, however, several statues which represent Hermes as lord of the *stadia*, standing with this bird by his side; and for the same reason the cock appeared on the Hermaic steles of the *stadia*, and upon the helmet of Minerva.<sup>19</sup> This, however, appears to have been the recognised function of the bird in its warlike capacity, as connected with the Attic myths; for the vases of Vulci and Nola, offsets of the Athenian people, and perpetually offering their traditions, always represent the bird of day with relation to some agon or contest of the *Athenaia*.<sup>20</sup> On several of the class of vases inscribed *ΤΟΥ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ*, the cock appears on the *Hermai*; and in one instance an

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<sup>18</sup> Paus. lib. v. fo. Han. 1613. p. 338.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. vi. Eliac Post.

<sup>20</sup> Campanari (Scs.) Ant. Vas. Dip. 8vo. Roman, p. 248.

uninscribed vase of this class offers on the obverse the two deities of the strife, Hermes and Athené,<sup>21</sup> and on the reverse a foot-race. This, in its turn, accounts for the perpetual presence and intervention of Pallas-Athené and Hermes in the Heracleid, as every labour may be considered an act of single combat by the hero against some individual power. Again, on the sepulchral monuments of the Athenians, Pallas-Athené crowns the leading individual of the myth; and we may consequently recognise in her the Niké or Victory, as in Hermes, the brabeus, or umpire, whose functions at an earlier epoch were allied with *κηρυκες*, or heralds.

The same objections do not apply to the story of Iphis,<sup>22</sup> the daughter of Ligdus and Telethusa, and which is said to have given rise to the celebration of the Ecdysia<sup>23</sup> (*Εκδυσια*) in honour of Leto, for we might in the present type see the androgynous form of the virgin Iphis, yet there are several grave objections to this hypothesis. What connection has the plane tree on which the figure is seated with the story, and what has the bird of the god of day to do with it? Eckhel supposes it to represent an offering to Latona or Leto, an opinion which we shall subsequently examine. But the story of Iphis must be actually posterior to the coin, for the account of Ovid mixes up the tradition with the Isiac worship, whose appearance in the Cretan mythology is certainly of a period far more recent,—probably about the first century before our own era—unless it can be

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<sup>21</sup> Basseggio's Cat. p. 15. No. 50.

<sup>22</sup> A different version of this story is given. Iphis is called Leucippe, her mother Galatea, her father Lamprus, and the deity who interposes her kind offices is Leto or Latona, not Isis. Cf. Antoninus, Lib. 17. After all, this is not a mythological change, and would consequently have scarcely appeared upon the coins.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. p. 665—796.

conceded that the Latin poet has confused the functions of the Egyptian Ilithyia with her name.<sup>24</sup> The only other hypothesis with regard to this type, is the one partially established by the French Numismatists, "*Iasion peut être*;" in which I suppose the fact of this bird being sacred to Demeter,<sup>25</sup> has given rise to the supposition that this heroic personage, whose story must have been imported with the Arcadian colonists, may be meant. The loves of Iasion and the Telluric goddess, as mentioned in Hesiod to have taken place in Crete, are well known; but as the Telluric deities are not on the contemporaneous currency which offers infallible marks of the prevalence of the Doric myths, it is not probable that Iasion is meant; and of this hero no hint of any androgynous type has ever been given. There are, consequently, only two circumstances in favour of the supposition of Iasion or Iasius; the fact of this bird being sacred to Demeter, and the deification of this hero by the Arcadians, with the correlative circumstance of Phæstus having been founded by Minos, to justify the appearance of the androgynous type being assigned to Iasion; while the Arcadian currency does not offer the form of the supposed importer of the worship of Cybele into the Troad, in the person of Corybas: and here we have an evident confusion of myths, for while the worship of Jupiter, probably the Achaian Zeus, is said to have been brought by the Corybantes or Curetes, to whom his education was

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<sup>24</sup> Which is hardly probable; and the numerous hermaphroditic changes at a late epoch justify the supposition of the *nuper* in Ovid applying to his own times. Cf. Phlegon. Trallian. Ed. J. G. Frid. Franzius, 12mo. Halæ. 1775, p. 65, 69.

<sup>25</sup> Porphyr, de Abstin. l. c. Iasius was one of the Dactyli (Cf. Paus. Eliac, lib. v.), with Hercules, Pæoneus, Epimedes, and Ida.

confided, in the caves of the Cretan Ida, from the Phrygian Ida it is from the same Crete that the Arcadian and Doric colonists passed at an early period, evidently bearing with them the Telluric and other deities of their worship, and, subsequently, justly vindicating to themselves the traditions of their own race.<sup>26</sup> Corybas, for example, the son of an Arcadian, along with Dardanus, imports the worship of Demeter and the Idæan Pallas-Athené into Asia Minor. Phæstus, one of the Heraclidæ, institutes divine honours to Hercules, and founds a Doric state in Crete whose currency in many a beautiful specimen prove the high honours rendered to that hero. The Cretan colonists accompanying Teucer in search of a settlement, are instructed by Apollon where to settle, and name the deity Smintheus, while the worship of Demeter, and the dances of the Corybantes are instituted by the same Teucer, who is subsequently named the son of Ida and Scamander. The Cretan Apollo of Cicero is, in his turn, the son of Corybas, born in Crete, and disputes for the possession of the island with Jupiter himself, a tradition under which are probably veiled the struggles of the Doric and Pelasgian religions. The occupiers of the Cretan throne trace, in their turn, their origin to Sol, to Europa (the Phenician line), and to Zeus. This discussion is necessary, in order to show the deity whom I imagine to be represented on the present coin; for the fact of Ganymedes having been supposed to be found upon two vases<sup>27</sup> holding or riding upon the bird of the Sun would favour the supposition that the figure seated upon the tree might be Ganymedes, borne off by Jupiter,

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Paus. iv. p. 278. l. 30. The incunabula of Jove are also said to have been in Messenia.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. De Witte. *Descr. des Vases Peints*, 1837, p. 27. p. 73. Passeri, *Pict. Etr.*, pl. vi.

in the same manner as Europa appears depicted upon the plane tree, on the contemporaneous currency of Gortyna.<sup>28</sup> This explanation, which if admissible, would connect the type with the Phrygian myths, instantly recalls to mind the cock<sup>29</sup> seen upon the currency of Dardanus in the Troad: yet even this attribution is embarrassed with considerable difficulties; for it does not appear that any of these vases offer the name of Ganymedes, and they may possibly merely represent an athlete holding the game cock as the emblem of the palæstra.<sup>30</sup> Nine statues of Ganymedes,<sup>31</sup> which exist in Europe, never represent him under a similar character, for the personification of the cup-bearer of the gods is the type of male youthful beauty, and there is nothing androgynous about him,<sup>32</sup> except the occasional Phrygian head-dress of the bonnet cidaris, which may have caused him to be allied with the form of Atys. The locks of Ganymedes roll in the rich profusion of youth upon his shoulders, or are lightly restrained by the tainia or trichodesmos, the phialé and the oinochoe are either in his hands, or the bird of Jove, placed at his side, plays with the Phrygian boy, or else soars with him through the air. A consideration of all these types renders it hardly probable that Ganymedes is represented.

There is, however, one deity, with whose form that on the present coins offers an analogy so striking that it can hardly escape instant remark; and that is the androgynous type of

<sup>28</sup> Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet. Gortyna*.

<sup>29</sup> De Witte, l. c. p. 107. Mionnet, ii. p. 654.

<sup>30</sup> Gerhard (Ed.), *Berlin's antike Bildwerke*, vol. i. p. 204. No. 633.

<sup>31</sup> Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpture Antique et Moderne*, pl. 407-11.

<sup>32</sup> Paus. ii. Cor. Ganymeda, as a name formerly attributed to Hebé (youth), while Ganymedes performs subsequently the functions of Hebé.

Apollo; the naked form, the hair bound with the ampyx in a knot at the back of the head, instantly recalls to mind the deity of the Doric race; for, whether draped in the female attire of the talaric tunic and as Musagetes leading the Parnassian choir, accompanying the triumph or procession of the Dionysiac orgies, or else as the Ἀργυρότοξος pointing his shafts at the giants, the hair lifted up behind, indicates the unshorn son of Leto; and here we retrace our steps, and at once find that in the Cretan mythology, Apollo contends for the religious possession of the island with Jupiter; and we may, in the present figure, recognise the Helios Apollo, whose connection with the Cretan myths is at once conceivable in the bird of day. Here, then, is found the perpetual allusion to the solar type of the Phoibos Apollo, and the explanation of its appearance on the shield of Idomeneus, as proposed by Homer; while the intimate connection of this bird with the traditions of the Sun, proves that the reference of its quality of saluting the rising of the day, was the prominent feature of his connection with the traditions of that island. In reality, the evidence of the medals almost uniformly points to the worship rendered to the Helios Apollo, even waving the deduction which might be drawn in favour of this deity on the currency of Dardanus in the Troad, the Campanian types of Cales and Teanum<sup>33</sup> present the cock occasionally as a reverse to the head of Apollo, and it is frequently accompanied by the star of Helios, or the Sun. The currency of Carystus in Eubœa,<sup>34</sup> a town remarkable for the adoration it paid Apollo, again presents the cock apparently in reference to the same deity; while the obverses

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Mionnet, vol. i. p. 112, 269.

<sup>34</sup> Eckh. Num. Vet. An. pl. x. 17. p. 160.



and reverses of those of Himera<sup>35</sup> in Sicily, also present the same bird, probably in allusion to the thermal springs of hot water, which might be supposed to owe their origin to solar influence. Again, the types of Selinus<sup>36</sup> which represent the river god sacrificing to Apollo, have at the foot of the altar the bird of day, and this is replaced by the serpent emblem of the Hygeic influence of Apollo, since no trace of any adoration to Asclepios, a deity whose Asiatic worship was at all times more extensive than his European appears; and the reverses of the tetradrachms of Selinus represent the children of Latona in the quadriga,<sup>37</sup> the gods who at the earliest epoch presided over the care of health; and passing again to the coins inscribed ΑΙΤΝΑΙΩΝ<sup>38</sup> we find the head of the Sun (Helios) in the radiated diadem, alluding to the curative powers of the hot springs of Sicily, while on the coins inscribed Θερμαιων and allied with Himera is the head of Hercules, in allusion to the demigod<sup>39</sup> going to the thermal sources of the Island: a form of the Attic myths of Thermopylæ, where Pallas-Athené discovers the waters of that defile to the same demigod,<sup>40</sup> since Selinus owed its origin to a colony from Megara.<sup>41</sup> In the story of Alectryon, another allusion occurs to the solar myths, as the angry Mars changes his favourite into a cock, a bird which salutes the rising of the morn; under which allegory is perhaps to be traced the

<sup>35</sup> Mionnet, i. p. 239. No. 254—260.

<sup>36</sup> Mionnet, i. p. 268. No. 673—678—679.

<sup>37</sup> Mionnet, 260, l. c. No. 679. <sup>38</sup> Mionnet. l. c.

<sup>39</sup> De Witte, Descr. de Vases Peints. 1837. p. 41. Cf. Gem. Insc. ΑΙΩΝΑ (Αἰθνα). Rochette (Raoul.) Lettre à M. Schern. p. 29—30.

<sup>40</sup> Scymnus in Perieg., or Marcianus in eodem. v. 296. Μεγαρεῖς Σελινούντ' οἷ Γελωσὶ δ' ἔκτισαν Ἀκράγαντα.

<sup>41</sup> Suidas, voce Θερμότυλαι.

sophistical interpretation of the original dedication of this bird to Ares and Apollo-Helios, and the identity of Phoibos and Helios is not only to be found at a later epoch, but also at an earlier period. With regard, indeed, to the hygeic type of Apollo, the authority of the most archaic poet presents us this god in the character of one whose arrows are winged with pestilence, and who at the same time holds in his power the life and health of men, which, in the hymn <sup>42</sup> to Apollo is still more explicitly stated by the terms and epithets βιοδώτης, ιήιος, ψυχοδοτήρ; and the same hymn identifies him with the Sun, as σιγαλοεῖς, σελαηγεννέτης, τίταν; while the passage of Porphyry <sup>43</sup> which mentions the cock sacred to Demeter is, at least, ambiguous; since the fact of this bird being dedicated to her, if we admit such construction to the passage, is because Demeter is identified with Pherephatta, or (the terrestrial) Persephone, who is, in the opinion of Porphyry, the same as her mother Deo or Demeter, for the crane was the bird peculiarly sacred to Demeter<sup>44</sup>, and appears in the area of the coins of Selinus: while, in the vase of the Canino collection, where Hercules comes to the thermal sources, he is attended by Hermes, Demeter,<sup>45</sup> and Koré, who appear in the scene to indicate the production of the thermal sources from the same deities who have conferred upon mankind the blessings of agriculture.

To pass, however, from the relation of this bird with the hygeic and solar influence, in which respect it even appears to have been held sacred in the Attic myths, as in

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Anthol. Ed. Lubini, p.125.

<sup>43</sup> Porphyry. de Ab. iv. sec. 16. Μαῖα δὲ ἡ αὕτη τῇ Φερσεφόνη, ὥς ἂν Μαῖα καὶ τροφὸς οὔσα. χθονία γὰρ ἡ θεὸς καὶ Δημήτηρ ἡ αὕτη, καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρίονα δὲ ταυτῇ ἀφιέρωσαν.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. iii. s. 5.

<sup>45</sup> De Witte. Descr. des Vases Peints, 1837.

the sacrifice offered by Socrates to Asclepius; and to consider its connection with the Agon and the stadia in which it played so distinguished a part, not only in the mythology, but also in the Greco-Italian and Athenian vases; where it is constantly reproduced even in the games instituted by Themistocles,<sup>46</sup> in allusion to the quarrelsome and warlike<sup>47</sup> nature of the bird which earned for it the epithet of the bird of Mars,<sup>48</sup> in reference to its agonistical qualities, and which, on account of the later legend of the discovery of the amour of Ares and Aphrodite, is alluded to by Ausonius, in its double capacity, by the title of the Satelles<sup>49</sup> of Mars, which salutes the rising Eous, Apollo is also intimately connected with the agonistic contests, and a vase of the Feoli<sup>50</sup> collection actually represents him playing on the lyre, between two of the usual hermai, surmounted by the bird of day.<sup>51</sup> In fact, in the Homeric writings, he is mentioned as the god who gives the victory of the Cestus,<sup>52</sup> and on the mythic institution of the Olympian games by Zeus Apollo outstrips Hermes<sup>53</sup> in the foot-race, and beats Ares in a boxing match, and the prizes offered to the victors, the *τρίποδες ἄπυροι* which were

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<sup>46</sup> Ælian Var. Hist. ii. c. 28. Brought from Persia Athen. l. xiv. Deipnosoph.

<sup>47</sup> Oppian. Cilix. Cyneg. ii. 189. *Οἷον ἀεὶ θούροισιν ἀλεκτρυνόεσσι μαχηταῖς*. Pind. Olymp. Od. xii. *Ἐνδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ*. A. Philem. de Anim. Propriet. c. 12. Aristoph. Av.

<sup>48</sup> *ὄρνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους τοῦ Περσικοῦ*  
*"Ἄρεος νεοττός ὡ νεόττε δέσποτα.*

<sup>49</sup> D. Aus. in Grapcho. Ternarii.

*Ter clara instantis Eoi*  
*Signa canit serus deprenso Marte Satelles*

<sup>50</sup> Campanari (Sec.) Ant. Vas. Dip. &c., p. 34.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Coins of Ophrynum in the Troad, with the head of Apollo on one side, and two cocks fighting on the other. Mionnet Sup. v. p. 578. Sestini. Mus. Hed. ii. p. 139, No. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Il. Ψ. v. 659. et seq. 862.

<sup>53</sup> Paus. v. 7.

so frequently dedicated by them to the son of Latona, either at Delphi or elsewhere, not to instance the choragic monuments of Athens, prove that Apollo held an office very analogous to that of Hermes, the *γυμνασιάναξ*, king of the Gymnasium.<sup>54</sup> Connecting this with the distribution of victory in such contests mentioned in the *Iliad* and the "Deo Soli Invicto" of a later epoch, the quality of the cock as the bird of the stadia of the Attic myths appears justifiable, even to the supposition that the present type is that of Apollo, who in the Cretan mythology was father by Rhytia,<sup>55</sup> of the Corybantes, or Idæan dactyls, and in the anthology an ephebos is described offering his hair incense, and a "warlike cock" to Phoibos.<sup>56</sup> Still what has the plane tree (?) to do with the myth of Apollo, or how can the worship of Apollo be perfectly identified with that of Helios? So striking did the analogy appear to the Persian Datis, that he spared the fane of Delos in order that he might not seem to insult the worship of his countrymen. The account of Hesiod makes Helios the son of Thea and Hyperion,<sup>57</sup> a legend with which that of Diodorus<sup>58</sup> nearly agrees, who, however, calls the daughter of Titæa, subsequently named the Magna Mater, the mother of Helios and Selené by the same; and the *Theogonia* of Hesiod makes Apollo and Artemis the children of Leto by Zeus, so that it appears that the two forms are reduplications of the identical myth, or that by some almost inexplicable confusion, the story of Phaëthon and his sisters, the Heliades, has been substituted into the extraordinary legend of Diodorus; for the later mythologists all of them assign the parentage of Phaëthon to Phœbus and one of the Oceanides.<sup>59</sup> The Cretan mythology was,

<sup>54</sup> Anthol. Ed. Lub. <sup>55</sup> Cf. Strabo x. <sup>56</sup> Anthol. Ed. Lub. p. 920.

<sup>57</sup> Theog. l. 371—374. <sup>58</sup> Lib. iv. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Ovid. Hyg. The earlier to Cephæus and Aurora.

however, peculiar to itself, for it has already appeared that Heracles and Iasius preceded the birth of Jupiter; and the Cretan Vulcan or Hephaistos<sup>60</sup> was the son of Talos, the son of Cres. The worship of Apollo may, however, have been imported from Ægialea when the twin children of Leto first arrived after the death of the Python; and this place, under the guidance of one of the Heraclidæ, subsequently sent a colony to Phæstus, and the solicitation for the return of these deities tends to prove that at an early period a religious intercourse was kept up between this place and Crete; since Apollo and Artemis are represented as being driven from Ægialea to Crete, and taking refuge with Carmanor. We find, indeed, on the tetradrachms of Phæstus, Hercules seated with the vase behind him which he has obtained from the centaur Pholus, standing before the tree of the Hesperides, or else killing the Lernean hydra, and it is not impossible but in the tree may be traced an allusion to the term δάκτυλος, a date or finger, which may indicate the mountain character of the Curetes or Corybantes.<sup>61</sup> The Apollo may be either the aboriginal deity of the island, the Arcadian Apollo Nomios identified with Aristæus, the lawgiver or shepherd, or else the Doric deity, the child of Leto and Zeus, introduced by the Heraclidæ into Crete. The results of my researches are, consequently, to repudiate the attribution of this figure to Idomeneus, Iphis, or Leucippe, or Iasion, and to recognise in it the Cretan Helios, or Abellio or Abelios,<sup>62</sup> identified with the Doric Apollo.

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<sup>60</sup> Lib. viii. Arcadica.

<sup>61</sup> Strab x. makes the term apply to the mountain; as *κνημοι*, &c. Cf. *κνημοι*. Lexica.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Hoffman. Lex. Un. fo. 1698. voc. Sol. Is. Vossius, however, makes Abellio a Gaulish deity. In Abellio we may recognise the solar Ἥλιος, Helios or Velios.

## VII.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME ROMAN COINS, AND  
OTHER REMAINS, FOUND AT ALBURY IN SUR-  
REY, IN 1839 AND 1840.

[To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.]

SIR,

I trust that the following brief record will prove neither unwelcome to yourself, nor uninteresting to your many readers. The subject of locality as connected with discoveries of coin is one of great importance, furnishing, as it does, the fairest probable evidence of the colonist or invader of old time: and to us Britons especially,—so long considered dwellers on the extreme confines of civilization, but for excellence, if not geographically, now to be regarded as its centre,—once the barbarian slaves of Rome's most distant province, but now to be esteemed, in some respects at least, her representative heir of universal dominion, it can never be otherwise than instructive to be able to track out the footsteps of our former conquerors; never less than interesting to know, (with something perhaps of a complacent patriotism while we compare the present with the past,) that on this fir-crowned eminence, or on that grassy plain, once stood the imperial Eagle, or the holier Labarum, and that these now silent hills, and those deserted heaths once echoed to the armed tread of Rome's invading legions.

The science of Geology has derived many benefits, and most of its accuracy from a similar attention paid to the sites of its peculiar coinage,—the medals of a former world; and the intelligent seeker-out of man's past history, as of nature's, will gain assurance in lieu of speculation, when he digs from an ancient earthwork those fossils of human fabric, which bear stamped on them the names and effigies

of that soil's former occupants, and which speak to him in the language of centuries ago; when, incapable alike of deceiving or being deceived, he turns up with his own spade the smooth green turf, and exultingly earns—be it but “a penny a day,”—the wages of his toilsome skill; when he considers that since Severus or Agricola was here, no hand perhaps but his has searched in the soil for their memorials, no curious mind but his has connected classic glories—the progress of Cæsar, or the prowess of Caractacus,—with the humble heath, where the peasant now cuts his furze, or the grassy slopes now only known to the shepherd: then, indeed, will he exclaim with the Geologist, “One coin in situ gives more intellectual pleasure than ten in the drawers of a museum;” then will he feel and confess that the commonest little bit of old copper money, resuscitated by himself from its untouched grave of sixteen hundred years, has more of interest and value in his eyes than the choice lot of a Numismatic auction.

But I am rambling; pardon, Sir, the prolixity of my enthusiasm,—being a Numismatist, you will,—and still bear with me, while, as briefly as possible, I add the little all I have to say.

A perusal of the following quoted passages sharpened my curiosity, and occasioned its results.

Allen's History of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 245. “Albury, or Aldbury, is supposed to have derived its name from some ancient fortification: a conjecture which seems to be confirmed by the existence of some remarkable remains of antiquity on Blackheath, in this parish. Here, on a plain, a short distance from the road to Cranley, is the foundation of what is generally considered to have been a Roman temple. In Aubrey's time, the remains of this edifice were as high as the banks by which it was surrounded; but that

writer informs us, that about 1670, it was dug up for the sake of the stone and brick, and that many Roman tiles of a pretty kind of moulding, some with eight angles, as also several Roman coins, have been found hereabouts, and in other parts of Blackheath. Mr. Bray, who explored this place in 1803, informs us that the spot is marked by a square bank 22 yards on each side, covered with short grass instead of surrounding heath; it occupies the centre of a square piece of ground 220 yards on each side, just 10 times the size of the site of the building, containing 10 acres, on the west side of which is a double bank, and a ditch perfect. From this enclosure on the north and south sides a single bank runs eastward; but there is none on the east side. On digging into the banks, they were found to be full of fragments of Roman tiles, some having a raised ledge on one side, and mortar: among them was also thrown up part of a stag's horn, and a small piece of a little urn."

Also Salmon's *Antiquities of Surrey*, p. 118. "Mr. Aubrey was informed by Mr. Benjamin Oughtred that in his time Roman coins were dug up in that part of Blackheath which is in this parish; and that more were heaved up by moles. This gave occasion to calling that building on the heath, now razed, and without a name, a Roman temple."

It will readily be imagined that such hints of possible hidden treasure would inflame the mind of one thoroughly in love with antiquity; the more so too, in my own case, as a resident, and all but a native, of time-honoured Albury. Accordingly, even while a schoolboy, I remember to have sallied forth more than once in search of these remembrancers of all-pervading Rome: but although I roamed Blackheath from end to end, (envious enough of those



numismatic moles, and more covetous of Roman copper than of British gold,) yet I never could find the spot so consecrated to my fancy. Indeed not until a comparatively recent period did I succeed in fixing on the site; mainly because, misled by exaggerated descriptions, "remarkable remains," "foundation of a Roman temple," &c., &c., I looked for some building where there is none whatever, nor, superficially, the remains of one: and again, because I searched on Blackheath for that which I afterwards found on its neighbour, locally called Farley-heath.

Mr. Bray's account of the spot, also, however accurate that veteran antiquary doubtless was in 1803, has, from the effects of time, become little less deceiving than Mr. Allen's; for it is now very difficult to distinguish any mounds or fosses which can confidently be pronounced regular embankments: an universal levelling system, whether of time alone or of time and his pensioners to boot, has now nearly obliterated limits, and, while the twenty-two yards square are not yet quite indefinite, has given the ten Roman acres to the heath.

Of the site itself, and its former building, I have gathered the following traditionary accounts. The old people about Albury remember to have heard it called the ruins of an old church, and say (which also Salmon and Bray from similar authority confirm) that the bases of the columns in Albury church, and part of the neighbouring church of Esher, were taken from that spot; one octogenarian reports that his grandfather took away a beam, and many represent walls and cottages as having been built of these ruins; some call it Farley-town, and say it was destroyed by the Danes,—as a matter of course, these pundits shewing you the hill where the Danes *planted their cannon*; some again call it a Roman temple, and some a Cæsar's camp: and I

think it not impossible that in substance these rumours may be all true; the Roman military quarters may have been superseded by a Pagan altar, this again for triumph by a Christian church, about which dwellers might have congregated, to be dispersed in their turn by the hordes from Denmark.

It is remarkable, perhaps, that although the site is on an elevated part of the heath, it is commanded and overlooked by many neighbouring eminences; and this might be considered destructive of its claim to be a military post, but for the fact that Camp-hill near Farnham, and Holmbury hill near Leith tower, (both Roman entrenchments,) are within sight and beacon distance of the Farley camp; while from Holmbury the Cæsar's camp near Worthing (not to mention intermediate stations) is easily distinguishable: and so by night telegraphic fires would connect the whole line. Perhaps also, in the days of Roman soldiers in Surrey, St. Martha's hill and other overtopping heights might have been held by us barbarians, too stoutly for legionary possession.

Having once found the spot, it will readily be imagined that I dug from time to time with no little diligence; the more so, as I was presently rewarded for my trouble, especially when examining the dug soil after rain: and the results I have to shew,—not quite *spolia opima*,— are collectively as follow.

*Second Brass.*

1. DOMITIAN. T. R. P. COS VI CENSOR.—*Rev.* Spes walking.
2. AURELIUS. Much defaced.—*Rev.* Minerva standing,

*Third Brass.*

3. GALLIENUS.—*Rev.* "SOLI CONS. AUG." a Pegasus.
4. Ditto.—*Rev.* [APOLLINI CON]S AUG. a Centaur, or a Stag.
5. CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.—*Rev.* "VIRTUS AUG." Soldier standing.

6. CONSTANTINUS.—*Rev.* "SECURITAS REIPUBLICÆ," a winged Victory.
7. Ditto.—*Rev.* "SECURITAS REIPUBLICÆ," a winged Victory.
8. CONSTANTIUS.—*Rev.* "VICTORIÆ D D N . . ." two winged Victories, with wreaths.
9. Ditto.—*Rev.* "VICTORIÆ D D N . . ." two winged Victories, with wreaths.
10. Ditto.—*Rev.* "VICTORIÆ D D N . . ." two winged Victories, with wreaths.
11. CONSTANTINUS, JUNR.—*Rev.* "GLORIA EXERCITUS," two Soldiers with standards.
12. URBS ROMA.—*Rev.* Wolf, and twins.
13. CONSTANS.—*Rev.* "VICTORIÆ D D AUGG." two winged Victories.
14. A small and very rude British styca, not now in my possession.
15. MAGNENTIUS.—*Rev.* SALUS. DD. NN. AUGG. ET CAESS. monogram of Christ between Alpha and Omega.

This latter interesting coin was found, I am happy to say, by Mr. B. Nightingale, a well known member of your Society, when conducting an investigation with me, as my visitor, in the month of July last. The Claudius and Urbs Roma are in the best possible state, and highly patinated; the other coins are of a commoner quality. Many fragments of urns, tiles some carved and some ledged, mortared stones, and smooth plaster,—some bits having lines of colour on the surface, apparently stucco from the walls, so favouring the idea of a church,—now strew the place; several corroded iron nails, some bones, two fragments of glass, and a bead of the same, have been found by me; also two pieces of a Samian-ware patera, with an elegant border, and the inscription DIVIX. F., together with other morsels of ancient pottery. An ancient pond in the immediate neighbourhood appears to have been paved, and partly with pieces of Roman tile; and a portion of the ground we disturbed was rudely paved with rough stones and adamantine mortar.

I cannot flatter myself that I have been the first to search the spot with numismatic intentions; for independently of what has already been quoted of Mr. Bray's attempt in 1803, and of Mr. Oughtred in 1650, this Roman site has been dug up for coins several times within the last half century: but the question of priority being laid aside, from all I could ever learn no one had met with success, until my good fortune sent me to investigate.

In conclusion, allow me to put this question to those more acquainted with the subject than myself: with regard to the frequent finding of coin near Roman stations, is it not probable that the conquerors of the world used, on leaving a site, to sow it with some small coins of each Emperor who had held it, by way of fixing a seal in the soil of the high supremacy of Rome? If we are to suppose that soldiers buried their treasures in going to battle, (as was doubtless sometimes the case, and is now and then confirmed by urns full of money,) the coins would assuredly seldom be so scattered as it has been my lot to find them; and if the men lost their earnings by casual dropping, surely a populous *prætorium* would not long have pieces of money lying on its surface. The great variety met with by myself, being not less than eleven reigns in the fifteen coins, goes some way to countenance the notion, about which I would willingly be set right.

The many diversities of die, and yet similarity of type, and the scattered profusion of old money about the populous quarters of a camp, where a penny dropped would—at least in our barrack-yards—be snatched up instantly, are among the mysteries of Roman Numismatics.

I fear for yourself, Sir, and your readers, that you will have to complain of disappointment from this hasty sketch, but as I have now said all that need perhaps be said about

so humble a camp as ours of Farley, and so little valuable a treasure-trove as mine has been, I will, without more apology, subscribe myself, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER.

*Albury, August, 1840.*

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### VIII.

### UNEDITED ASIATIC COINS.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH,

SENIOR ASSISTANT DEP. OF ANTIQ. BRIT. MUS. ASS. SEC. ARCH. INST. ROME.

#### CYME ÆOLIDIS.

Youthful head, turned to the right, the hair, in locks, gathered up to the back of the head, and tied by a broad sash or fillet.

R.—KYMAION AAEÆANΔPOΣ (exergue). Horse going to the right, vase with one handle between its legs. *R.* 8. 249.2 grs.

BOTH Eckhel and Mionnet have avoided the decision of the present head, which Payne Knight justly regards as that of Apollo, which well agrees with the androgynous character of the head and its attire; and to Apollon or Artemis it should, without doubt, be attributed. The worship of Apollo was also much scattered among the people of Asia Minor, and his oracle at Patara in Lycia and Temple at Miletus had attained the highest reputation. It appears from the tract of an author who will hereafter be mentioned, that Hermodice, the daughter of Midas, instituted the art of coining among the Cymeans; and it is just possible that in gratitude for the same the Cymeans subsequently put her head upon their currency.

Yet, since Hermodice<sup>1</sup> must have been a barbaric female, and Midas is always represented in the *cidaris*, or peculiar cap of the Asiatics, on works of ancient art, Hermodice would probably have appeared in the *mitra*, or tiara, which designates Asiatic females. The state, as described by Strabo and other authors, was founded by the Amazons, a tradition which I have always regarded as the sophism of a later age; and there is no adjunct in the present head to justify assigning it to Cyme, one of their number. At a later period, indeed, the term *Κυμη Αιολίας*, or the Æolian Cyme, appears over a figure uniting the attributes of a town and Amazon, the same as Smyrna is frequently represented on its imperial currency.

The analogy, however, of this head to that on the tetradrachms of Myrina, where the head is more decidedly that of Apollo, leaves scarcely a doubt on the subject,—that in the head of the tetradrachms we have that of the Grynæan Apollo, whose worship prevailed among the cities of the Ionian confederacy, rather than the Amazon Cyme, or the princess Hermodice. In that case, the androgynous type of Apollo compared with the reverses of the Myrina currency, and analogy with works of ancient art, renders it apparent that it is intended for the Musagetie type.

The diadem round the head of the present type may be considered as the *ἄμπυξ*,<sup>2</sup> a species of *ἀνάδημα* or sash used

<sup>1</sup> Heraclides de Politis. *Cymæorum*. *Ερμόδικην γυναίκα τοῦ φρυγῶν βασιλέως Μίδου φασὶ κάλλει διαφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὴν εἶναι καὶ πρώτην νόμισμα κόψαι Κυμῆοις*.

<sup>2</sup> Or, *τριχόδεσμος*, Cf. Schol. Did. in Hom. Il. x. 468. "*Ἀμπυκα κόσμον τινὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνέχοντα τὰς τρύχας τῆς κεφαλῆς*. The Muses, however, generally appear with the hair gathered into a knot behind, the *crobulus*.

for restraining the hair, and which in the epithet χρυσ-ἀμυνξ, "bound with the golden fillet," was more especially applied to the Muses.<sup>3</sup>

Next to the type of the obverse, the prominent subject of the reverse is the horse. Eckhel, who had these coins twice under his notice, does not offer any explanation of the reason of the appearance of this animal on the currency of Cyme. Independent of the connection of the horse with the Hyperborean myths, and its constant alliance with the Amazons, to whom, as has already been seen, the foundation of the state was attributed, and its intimate connection with Poseidon, whose worship, to a greater or less extent, always prevailed in maritime states, there seems to have been a political reason for the production of this type,—that the state was under the electoral administration of an aristocracy of *equites*, the test of the franchise being the power of maintaining a horse. The work attributed to Heraclides de Politiis states that the aristocracy of *equites*, or ἱππῆες, was instituted by Pheidon, a man of rank and wealth; but that the democratic infusion was the work of Prometheus. Of this change, its epoch, and extent, no more notice occurs in the rays of information scattered among the classical authorities relative to Cyme; but the appearance of the horse upon the currency from its earliest time to the epoch of Alexander the Great probably indicates that the change was posterior to the death of that monarch, although it would be difficult to account for its independence from the power of the Syrian kings. In the case of Chalcedon, an important town of Bithynia, there is already abundant evidence to show, that although

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<sup>3</sup> Hesiod. Theog. 916. Cf. the Musagetis type on the reverse of the coins of Myrina.

the State struck coins in honor of Lysimachus, under whose dominion it probably was, or from the alliances which existed with Byzantium, his Thracian capital,—yet, at the very epoch that its independence and autonomous dignity appeared in the exergue of the tetradrachms, it also coined didrachms with the type of Lysimachus and legend of the State. Yet the tetradrachms of Cyme bear every evidence of having been executed previous to, or immediately after, the demise of the Macedonian conqueror, both from the style which characterises an epoch of the arts when the wealthy towns of Asia had attained the very maximum of civilization, and from the names of the magistrates, which are such as may be distinctly traced to the fourth century before Christ.

There is one object which so constantly appears on the obverse of the types of the Cyme as to be the specific mark of the currency of the town—a small vase, or jug, with one handle. This had constantly attracted my attention from the peculiarity of its shape and perpetual reproduction, either as a leading symbol, or the adjunct. My researches had failed to discover any connection with a local tradition relative to this peculiar type, when the appearance of a word in the Coptic Lexicon of Tattam<sup>4</sup> at once directed my attention to the reason of its use as a mint mark on the currency of Cyme. The word KYMIAAION, which has passed into the Coptic from the Greek, has disappeared from the Lexica of the Greek authorities. Yet KYMIAAION is not a Coptic word, but evidently a Greek form, and apparently a diminutive from another form, and the word *χευμα*, pronounced the same as *κυμα*, is apparently the original from which it has been taken.

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<sup>4</sup> Lexic. Ling. Copt. p. 168.



In reality, KYMIAAION means a "small vase," and  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ <sup>5</sup> means a vase to pour from, a libatory vase, which answers completely to the shape seen upon the currency of Cyme. I consequently regard the *vas monotum* of the Cymæan coins as an anagram of the name of the state, notwithstanding the attempts of the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* to refer it to  $\text{Κυμη}$  the Amazon, or  $\text{κυμα}$  a wave, &c., which does not appear to have any connection with the city. So far from its being a town distinguished for its maritime power, it was not till long after its foundation that the inhabitants appreciated the value of its harbour; and the absence of all emblems of maritime worship prove the neglect, imputed to its citizens, of their true interests. That the head on the obverse, for example, is that of Apollo, is demonstrated by the laurel crown upon the reverse, and the identity of the features of this head with that found upon the contemporaneous tetradrachms of Myrina; and both, in fact, refer to the Grynæan Apollo, whose worship prevailed in Æolis—but the vase, the *vas monotum* of Eckhel, approaching in shape those daily found in Magna Grecia, which has no connection with any known tradition of the State, the metathesis of  $\chi$  and  $\kappa$  in the Coptic, the analogous forms of  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  and  $\text{κυμη}$ —the use of the former word to express a libatory vase at an early period—are so many concurrent circumstances in favor.

The following list of magistrates are allied with this type:—

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ,	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ, <sup>9</sup>	ΣΕΥΘΗΣ, <sup>12</sup>
ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΩΝ, <sup>6</sup>	(eagle on thunderbolt.)	ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ, <sup>13</sup>
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, <sup>7</sup>	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ, <sup>10</sup>	ΦΙΛΟΛΟΞΟΣ. <sup>14</sup>
ΕΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ, <sup>8</sup>	ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ, <sup>11</sup>	

<sup>5</sup> Schneider Lex. in voce., Maltby, id., Stephanus, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Mion. iii., 7, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. Supp. vi. 5, Hunt. Coll., p. 118, No. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. 7, 30, Eckhel Vet. Num. An.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Ib. Supp. vi. 5, Sest. Desc. p. 309, No. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ib. 7, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Ib. 33.

<sup>14</sup> Ib. 34.

In this list I have substituted ΕΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ for the reading of Combe, ΚΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ, as the name of a magistrate, since I conceive it must be the same. Independent of the word *Κυκτημων* not being Greek, a fine tetradrachm of the Payne Knight collection reads very clearly *Ευκτημων*, as had been already observed by Mr. Knight. M. Mionnet, who had not seen the coin itself, follows the description of Combe. The correction of this name is the more important, because, supposing these tetradrachms to have issued about the epoch of Alexander, Euctemon was a person who played a distinguished part at that period. On the return of Alexander to Persepolis, the conqueror was met by a body of mutilated Greek captives, who had been wantonly and cruelly injured by the Persians; and in the discussion which took place, whether these unfortunate beings should be returned to their own cities, or found a state in some part of Asia, the two sides of the argument were supported by *Euctemon*<sup>15</sup> of Cyme and Theatetus of Athens. This name, which is the same as that on the tetradrachm, and might possibly be the same person, connects this series with the era of Alexander; and the names Alexander, Demetrius, and Seuthes are all of the same period. Without affirming that the names are identical with those of the Syrian monarchs, there is no objection to the supposition that such states as enjoyed an autonomous currency might have been placed in such a position as, out of flattery, to choose foreigners of the highest rank to the post of their chief magistrates: and, in the case of Athens, it is almost proved; indeed, it was a ceremony which existed till the close of the Roman Empire.

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<sup>15</sup> Quint. Curt. lib. v., cap. v., Delphin. Ed. Some leave out the *Cymæus*, or read *Euthymon*.

## CYME ÆOLIDIS.

KPILΛILINA · ΛΕΒΑΛΤ. Head of the empress to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΕΤΡ · ΚΟΡ · ΔΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ · ΚΥΜΑΙ. Diana of Ephesus standing. Æ. 8½. (*British Museum.*)

No coins of Crispina appear in the lists of M. Mionnet as struck at Cyme in Æolis, and the present coin, which is unedited, bears the name of the same strategos as her husband, of whom an imperial coin has been also edited. The Diana of Ephesus is also new. The present type is well preserved. It otherwise possesses little interest.

## ANTANDRUS MYSIÆ.

Female head to right.

R.—ΑΝΤΑ. Anterior part of a cow gradient to right, turning and looking round. Æ. 2.

Ditto.

R.—ΑΝ. A club. Æ. 1½. (*British Museum.*)

Varieties of edited types.

## ASSUS MYSIÆ.

Head of Pallas Athene, helmed and laureated to left.

R.—ΑΣΣΙΟΝ. Head of an ox, full face; ear of barley at its right side. Æ. 2½.

Head of Pallas Athene, helmed to left.

R.—ΑΣΣΙ. Gryphon couchant to left. Exergue, a tripod. Æ. 4.

Ditto.

R.—Ditto. Exergue, an ear of barley. Æ. 3. (*British Museum.*)

These coins differ from those described by M. Mionnet under Assus chiefly in the objects of the exergue. The barley indicates the peculiar fertility of that region, which produced barley of a fine quality. No. 1. has been engraved in the Penny Encyclopedia under the word Assus. The

tripod which accompanies No. 2 is a symbol perpetually found in connection with Apollo, and seems to accompany the griffin, which, allied with the Hyperborean traditions, appears to have extended its worship far and wide among the rich provinces of Asia; and this, which in the Egyptian mythology was the emblem of Monthra the Mandoulis, *alias* Apollo, of the inscriptions, appears in connection with Apollo on several statues and bas-reliefs. The head of a cock placed on the body of a lion perhaps indicates the Heliac type of Phœbus.

ATARNEA (MYSIÆ).

Head of Apollo to right.

R.—ATA. Forepart of a horse to the right. Monogram, IP. Æ. 1.

Ditto.

R.—. . A. Forepart of a horse. No monogram. Æ. 1½.  
(*British Museum.*)

APOLLONIA, CARIÆ.

Head of Jupiter, laureated, to right.

R.—ΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ. Thunderbolt placed horizontally in a laurel crown. Æ. 4. (*British Museum.*)

This type offers only the additional peculiarity of having a laurel crown. Those already published by M. Mionnet are unaccompanied by any crown. (Cf. Mionnet, ii. p. 518.)

CAMENA (MYSIÆ.)

KAMHINΩN. Head of Æsculapius bearded, and in the strophium to right.

R.—ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Ithyphallic terminal. Æ. 2½. (*British Museum.*)

The present coin, which is in an indifferent state of preservation, unfortunately does not well define the figure on the reverse, which is apparently an ithyphallic Hermes or terminus with an old bearded head. It has been customary to assign these ithyphallic types to Priapus; but Hermes or

Mercury, as well as the god of Lampsacus, was also thus represented. Judging from the other heads on the same currency that give the evident type of Æsculapius, the present old head should also be that of the god of medicine. The name of the magistrate is not new. A type very similar has been published in Mionnet.<sup>16</sup>

BITHYNIÆ, PRUSIAS (*uncertain*).

Eagle looking to the right; countermarked with a small head.

R.—BACIAEΩΣ · ΠΡΟΥCΙΟΥ. Thunderbolt. Æ. 4.

As on almost all the coins of the kings of Bithynia the eagle on thunder appears as an adjunct to the usual type, it is not easy or possible to determine to which of the kings of this name the present coin should be attributed. It is, however, one of those coins in which the reference between the types of the obverse and reverse are apparent, since the eagle standing on thunder, as before-mentioned, is alike common to Prusias I. and II.

ALIA PHRYGIÆ.

ΙΕΡΑ · CYNKAHTOC. Head of the Senate to the right.

R.—(AI)THCAMENO[Υ] Φ[P]ΟΥΓ ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ. The god Lunus, or Mensis, standing, having on his head the Phrygian bonnet cidaris, and at his shoulders the crescent of the moon, in a short tunic, with cothurni, or boots; in his right hand he holds a ball, in his left a spear. Æ. 6.

The initial letters ΔΙ, or ΑΙ, are not well preserved; but the latter reading is probably correct. M. Mionnet<sup>17</sup> has already edited this type, or one almost identical from Ari-goni,<sup>18</sup> but it appears to have been in a very indifferent state of preservation, as he did not recognise in it the form of the Phrygian god Mensis, or Menotyrannus, since his description in other respects agrees. His reverse, too, which

<sup>16</sup> Vol. ii., p. 528. <sup>17</sup> Tom. iv., p. 216. <sup>18</sup> II. Tab. vii., 5.

he reads V . . . VTI · ΑΔΙΗΝΩΝ, is very possibly the remainder of the phrase *Αιτησάμενου Φρουγίων Αλίωνων*. That the same word is connected with the type, would appear from another coin edited by M. Mionnet<sup>19</sup> with the protome of the Deus Lunus, on which he reads ANTHC AMENOY · ΦΡΟΥΤΙ. If this reading is deduced from a coin very well preserved, one would expect to find it repeated on the present type, but I cannot detect any ligature of the initial letters. Those between brackets have also vanished from the field of the coin, but their places are still slightly indicated. The worship of the moon, which prevailed to a great extent in Phrygia, was, however, one of a later epoch, and chiefly appears on the imperial currency. It was allied with that of Cybele, the Artemis Triformis, the Ephesian Diana, Mithra, and Atys. Few autonomous types of Alia are known, and the city is unnoticed except by the Notitia.

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# IX.

## UNPUBLISHED COINS OF TABA IN CARIA.

BY JAMES WHITTALL, ESQ., OF SMYRNA.

No. 1.—Bare head of Jupiter to the right.

R.—TABHINΩN · APTEMON · ΠΑΗΙΟΥ. Jupiter standing, launching a thunderbolt. Æ. 4. Weight 39 $\frac{3}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of H. P. Borrell, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

2.—Bare head of Hercules to the right.

R.—TABHINΩN · COΛΩN · APICTO. A woman standing, holding a patera in her right hand extended, and a cornucopia in her left. Æ. 4. Weight 51 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*Same Cabinet.*)

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<sup>19</sup> II. Tab. vii., fig. 5. Mion. iv. p. 216. Eck. Doct. Num. Vet.

No. 3.—Veiled female head to the right.

R.—TA. The forepart of an ox, to the right. Æ.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gr.  
(*In the writer's cabinet.*)

4.—KAICAP · CEBACTOC. Laureated head of Augustus to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. Jupiter Nicephorus seated; in the field the monogram NR. Æ. 5. (*Same Cabinet.*)

5.—NEPΩN. Laureated head of Nero to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. An altar; above, the caps of the Dioscuri. Æ.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Same Cabinet.*)

6.—CEII · ΓETAC · KA. Head of Geta to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. A naked figure, with radiated head, standing, regarding the left. In the extended right hand, an uncertain object; in the left, a long sceptre and a caduceus. Æ.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Same Cabinet.*)

7.—ΦAVC . . . . . CEBACTH. Head of Faustina the younger to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. Fortune standing. Æ.  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Same Cabinet.*)

8.—AY · KAI · ΠO · AI · OYAAEPIANOC. Radiated bust, with Paludamentum of Valerian the father, to the right.

R.—EΠI · APX · CTA · IATPOKAΘOYC · TABHNΩN. Two figures standing face to face, wearing tunics, buskins, and Phrygian caps. That on the left holds a bow in the extended left hand, and draws an arrow with the right from a quiver at its back. The figure on the right holds in its right hand a patera, and in the left a long lance. Æ. 10. (*Same Cabinet.*)

Stephanus notices three cities of the name of *Taba*; one in Caria, another in Peræa, and a third in Lydia.<sup>1</sup> It is, doubtless, the first, or that of Caria, which is alluded to by Livy, who says it was situated on the confines of Pisidia

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<sup>1</sup> Steph. Biz. v. Tabai. Taba of Caria is also mentioned by Hierocle in Synadem, p. 689, ed. Weseling. Coray, in his Translations of Strabo, supposes the text of Stephanus to be corrupt, and that his Taba in Peræa is the same as the Taba in Persia of Polybius.

towards the Pamphylian Sea:—"Inde ad Gordiutichos quod vocant processum est, ex eo loco ad Tabas tertiis castris perventum, in finibus Pisidarum posita est urbs, in ea parte quæ vergit ad Pamphylium mare."<sup>2</sup> Of this city there is a series of silver and copper coins, affording evidence of its great opulence and importance. Livy adds, that "before the strength of that country was reduced, its inhabitants had been remarkable as valiant warriors; and even on this occasion (the appearance of the Consul, Cneius Manlius, before the walls of Taba), their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused by their first onset no small confusion; but, soon finding themselves overmatched, both in numbers and bravery, they fled into the city; on which the townsmen, begging pardon for their transgressions, offered to surrender the place. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms, their surrender was accepted."<sup>3</sup>

The exact situation of Taba has not been ascertained, either by ancient or modern geographers; nor has any modern traveller discovered its site, although the subject has engaged the attention of many persons. From the coins themselves, it would appear that the city was situated in the vicinity of Aphrodisias in Caria, and Cibyra in Phrygia; the types and fabric of several of the coins of these cities bearing such a resemblance to those above described, that, without noticing the legends, no person would be able to distinguish them. In many instances which have come under my observation, coins of these three cities have been received together from the interior,

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<sup>2</sup> Livy, Lib. xxxviii. c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Baker's Translation of Livy, vol. v. p. 239.



having, in all probability, been found in the same spot.

Pellerin, Hunter, and Eckhel, differ in the classification of these coins to Taba. Mionnet assigns them to Caria; and this attribution is, I believe, acknowledged to be correct, and has been adopted by the numismatists of the present day.

The coins which are the subject of this notice offer nothing remarkable as regards their types, which are, however, published for the first time. That of Faustina the younger is unique. A similar coin to No. 8. has been described by Mionnet,<sup>4</sup> but the doubt which he expresses as to the reading of the legend, induces me to give it correctly, namely, ΕΙΙΙ. ΑΡΧ. ΚΤΑ. ΙΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. ΤΑΒΗΝΩΝ which is taken from two well-preserved examples in my possession.<sup>5</sup> Nor am I satisfied with Mionnet's explanation of the figures on the reverse. The figure supposed by that writer to be Diana, is not more feminine than the opposite figure, both being habited alike and wearing Phrygian caps, &c. It must be left to the intelligent reader to decide what they represent, and to substitute the true mythological for my humble description.

*Smyrna, April 19th, 1840.*

JAMES WHITTALL.

*To Thomas Burgon, Esq.*

*For the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

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<sup>4</sup> Descr. tom. iii. p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> See plate, fig. 3, where one of these coins is engraved.

1



AENUS.

p. 106.

2



DICAEA.

p. 109.

3



TABA.

p. 102.



## X.

UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL  
GREEK COINS.

By H. P. BORRELL, Esq.

## THRACE.

## ABDERA.

WE have no money of Abdera struck by the first colonists, the Clazomenians; the whole number that have reached us must have been fabricated by the Teians, as may be judged by the similarity of the types used by both cities. In fact, it is at times exceedingly difficult to distinguish the early coins, without legends, of Abdera from those of Teos; the best criterion for judging, in our opinion, is the indented square, which differs materially in the two provinces of Thrace and Ionia. Combe, in his Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, pl. 57, has classed three silver tetradrachms, Nos. 14, 15, 16, to Teos; they are all positively of Abdera. The unpublished coins of this city that have been, or are, in my possession are as follow:—

No. 1.—A griffin sitting to the left, the extremities of his expanded wings rounded; in the field, EP.

R.—Indented square divided into four equal compartments.

AR. 447 grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

2.—Another as last; in the field, P, and the monogram  $\text{P}^+$ .

R.—Indented square, as No. 1. AR. 455 grs. (*Same cabinet.*)

These two coins are extremely remarkable, both being of a weight corresponding to the octodrachm: they differ from each other but slightly, and their thick globular form and general fabric indicate that they were struck at a remote period. They are the only coins of Abdera of this description yet discovered; and in fact the only other examples

amongst Grecian civic coins, if we except the famous medallions of Syracuse, is that of the Orestii; the No. 1 was brought to me from Salonica, and the other from the island of Lemnos.

3.—Griffin lying down, extremities of his expanded wings pointed; in the field, APTE.

R.—Indented square divided into four compartments.

AR 7. 230 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

This coin, No. 3, is published by M. de Cadalvene, *Rec. de Méd. Gr. Ined.* p. 7, pl. 1, No. 1. I have reproduced it here, because that author has put a wrong construction on the letters APTE; they merely represent the name of a magistrate in abbreviation.

4.—Griffin as last; in the field, ΔAM.

R.—Indented square as last. AR 7. 225 grs. (*Same cabinet.*)

5.—Griffin lifting up his right fore foot; in the field, HPAK, and a locust.

R.—Shallow indented square divided into four equal compartments. AR 7. 224 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*In my cabinet.*)

6.—Another; but in the field, HPO; Griffin's wings rounded.

R.—As last. AR 3. 45 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

7.—Griffin standing, his fore left paw lifted up; in the field, ΔEO.

R.—Shallow indented square divided into four equal compartments. AR 3. 49 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*My cabinet.*)

8.—Griffin sitting, as No. 6; in the field, ΔIO.

R.—Indented square as last. AR 3. 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

There is nothing remarkable in the five preceding coins, excepting their being unpublished, and offering, as well as the No. 3, various abbreviations of magistrates' names.

9.—Griffin running to the left.

R.—Sunk square, on the outer border of which is inscribed ΠΟΛΥΑΝΗΤΟΣ; within is a smaller square; in the middle is seen a vine branch with fruit. AR 6. 210 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

The type of a vine with grapes, in the centre of the square on this coin, assimilates it with the coins of Maronea, another city of the same province. The worship of Bacchus would have been introduced into Thrace as well as that of Apollo by the Teians; he was also a favourite deity throughout the province of Thrace.

- 10.—ΑΒΔΗΠΙ. Griffin sitting to the left, wings expanded and pointed (his paw not lifted up).

R.—ΠΥΘΩΝ tripod; above, a palm branch; the whole within a sunk square. AR 6. 195 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England*).

- 11.—Griffin sitting to the left, pointed wings; in the field, an ivy leaf.

R.—ΑΝΙΞΙΑΙΚΟΣ within a square; in the middle is a small figure of Mercury, standing to the right, wearing the causia, and clad with a mantle which covers the hinder part of his body only, the caduceus in his right hand, and his left extended horizontally. AR 6. 217 $\frac{8}{10}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England*.)

- 12.—ΑΒΔΗΠΙΤΕΩΝ. Griffin sitting to the left, rounded wings, lifting up his forepaw.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ.—A female figure wearing a short tunic and singular head-dress, holding up her right hand, and in a dancing attitude. AR 6. 195 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England*.)

A similar coin to the last, but wanting the name of the people, ΑΒΔΗΠΙΤΕΩΝ, is published by Millingen in his *Sylloge of Ancient Uncollected Coins*, p. 30, pl. 2, No. 13, from the Royal collection of Paris. We refer the reader to that author's remarks upon this singular type.

- 13.—Griffin crouching on his haunches; his two fore paws held up, pointed wings; above is a diota.

R.—ΕΠ. ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΕΩ, inscribed on the border of a sunk square, in the midst of which is another square formed by four bars in relief and divided into four equal compartments. AR 7. 228 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England*.)

- 14.—Griffin as last.  
R.—ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, Bull's head; the whole in a sunk square.  
AR 2. 18½ grs. (*Same cabinet.*)
- 15.—Griffin as last.  
R.—ΠΡΩΤΗΣ and profile of Apollo in a sunk square.  
AR 3. 39 grs. (*Same cabinet.*)
- 16.—ΑΥ. ΤΡΑ. ΚΑ. CΕΒΑ. Laureated head of Trajan.  
R.—ΑΒΔΗΡΕΙΤΩΝ. Victory running. Æ. 3. (*My cabinet.*)

## AENUS, THRACIA.

- No. 1.—Head of Mercury with the causia to the left.  
R.—ΑΙΝΙΟΝ, wine-press; in the field is a caduceus.  
AV 2. 32.5 grs. (*Formerly in my cabinet.*)<sup>1</sup> See plate, fig. 1.

This is the first gold coin yet published of Aenus: the type on the reverse, which occurs also on the silver money, is generally supposed to be a wine-press, but M. Allier de Hauteroche is inclined rather to imagine it to represent a machine for crushing corn; he remarks, “Ce que l'on a pris pour un pressoir, pourrait bien être un moulin à brayer le grain. On se sert dans la Thrace, la Pologne, et la petit Russie, de machines semblables.” The same type occurs on a silver coin, see Dumersan's *Description des Médailles Antiques du Cabinet du feu M. Allier de Hauteroche*, p. 21, pl. iii., No. 3. The caduceus on the reverse of our coin is allusive to the same worship as on the obverse, that of Mercury, whose attributes are constantly seen throughout the whole series of the money of the inhabitants of Aenus.

- 2.—Head of Mercury, front face wearing the causia.  
R.—ΑΙΝΙΟΝ. Antelope standing; in the field, a bee.  
AR 6. 236¼ grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)
- 3.—Another similar; in the field, a laurel wreath. AR 6.  
236 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

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<sup>1</sup> Now in the British Museum.—Ed.

4.—Same head.

R.—AINI. Antelope; in the field, a helmet; the whole in a shallow sunk square. AR 2½. (*My cabinet.*)

5.—Head of Mercury in profile, wearing the causia to the left.

R.—AINI. Antelope; in the field, a caduceus; the whole in a deep sunk square. AR 6. 252 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

6.—Head as No. 5.

R.—AINI. Antelope; in the field, a diota; the whole in a flat sunk square. AR 3. 60 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

7.—Profile of Mercury, with causia, to the left.

R.—AINION. Caduceus, and ram's head. Æ 4. (*My cabinet.*)

The coins of Aenus form a numerous series, and many of them are beautifully executed; of this description may be classed the Nos. 2 to 4 in this list; those under Nos. 5 and 6 are of much more ancient fabric.

#### ANCHIALUS, THRACIA.

No. 1.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. Laureated head of Caracalla; paludamentum to the right.

R.—ΟΥΔΙΠΠΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΓΧΙΑΔΕΩΝ. Serpent coiled up, his head erect. Æ 6½. (*My cabinet.*)

2.—ΑΥΤ. ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟC. ΕΥCΕΒΗ. IV (*sic*). Laureated head of Maximianus to the right.

R.—ΑΓΧΙΑΔΕΩΝ. Ceres sitting, veiled, to the left, holding in her right hand ears of corn, and in her left a long torch. Æ 5. (*My cabinet.*)

There is nothing particular in these two coins of Anchialus, except their being unedited.

#### CYPSELA, THRACIA.

No. 1.—Head of Mercury, wearing the causia, to the right.

R.—ΚΥΨΕ. Diota; above is a pentagon. Æ 2. (*Formerly in my cabinet, now in the British Museum.*)



2.—Same head.

R.—KYΨE. Diota as last; above is a crescent. Æ 2.  
(*In my cabinet*)

The coins of Cypsela are excessively rare. The first cited by numismatic writers is that in Sestini, from the Cousinery Collection, (*Lett. e. Diss. Num.* tom. p. 22, and Mionnet, Supp. ii. p. 276, No. 444); but instead of the head of Mercury as on ours, it bears that of a bacchante. Another, published by Cadalvene (*Rec. de Med. Gr. Ined.* p. 10. pl. i. No. 4), is similar to ours, excepting the accessory symbol above the diota on the reverse.

It strikes us that the coin in Mionnet (*loc. cit.* No. 443, pl. v. 1106) from the Cabinet d'Hermand, which he attributes to Cypsela, and describes

Tête casquée de Pallas, à gauche.

R.—KYΨA (*sic*). Cheval libre, marchant à gauche.  
Æ 2½.

belongs rather to Hephæstia, in the island of Lemnos. I have had several of similar type, which read HΦA, or HΦAI; the animal on the reverse is a ram, and not a horse, which may be seen by referring to Mionnet's engraving. I presume d'Hermand's coin must have been badly preserved. See also Mionnet's description of the coins of Hephæstia, *loc. cit.* p. 541, Nos. 3 and 4.

#### DEULTUM, THRACIA.

No. 1.—MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. Laureated head of Maximinus to the right.

R.—COL. FL. PAC. DEVL. Jupiter sitting, a patera in his right hand, the hasta in his left; at his feet, an eagle. Æ 6. (*My cabinet.*)

## DICAËA, THRACIA.

No. 1.—Head of Hercules covered with the lion's skin (very ancient style).

R.—ΔΙΚ and a bull's head in profile to the left; the whole within a flat sunk square. AR 4. 114 grs. (*Formerly in my cabinet, afterwards in that of M. Stewart.*)  
[See plate fig. 2.]

2.—Female head to the right.

R.—ΔΙΚΑΙ. Bull's head in profile to the right, the whole in a sunk square. AR 3. (*My cabinet.*)

The coin of Dicaea, No. 1, is remarkable, being unique in its magnitude and type. No. 2 is similar to that published by Mionnet, tom. i, p. 384, No. 136; but not exactly like it. Mionnet's coin was originally in the collection of Pellerin, who had erroneously attributed it to the island of Icaria.

## MARONEA, THRACIA.

No. 1.—Horse running at full speed to the left.

R.—ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ. A vine with leaves and fruit; the whole within a flat sunk square. AV 2. 48½ grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

This small gold coin of Maronea is entitled to notice as the first yet published in that metal. I bought it of a peasant from Vola, in 1829. The type offers nothing particularly new, as it is the same as is generally observed upon the silver money of this city, which is so abundant.

2.—ΩΡΑΜ, *retrograde*; fore part of a horse.

R.—ΑΟΨ, *retrograde*, a ram's head, the whole within a flat sunk square. AR 3½. 48¼ grs. (*Same cabinet.*)

3.—A horse, as No. 1, to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟ. Vine with fruit, the whole within a sunk square. AR 6. 168½ grs., apparently plated. (*Same cabinet.*)

- 4.—MAPΩN. Horse running to the left; above, a diota.  
 R.—ΔEONVΣ. Vine with five bunches of grapes, in a sunk square. AR 7. 215 grs. (*My cabinet.*)
- 5.—Horse as last; no legend; above is the astragalus.  
 R.—HBHΣAΣ. Type as last, but only four bunches of grapes, in a sunk square. AR 6. 192 $\frac{6}{10}$  grs. (*My cabinet.*)
- 6.—Ram kneeling to the right, looking to the left.  
 R.—Fore part of a horse to the right, in an indented square. AR 2. (*Cabinet of the Chevalier Ivanoff, Russian consul-general at Smyrna.*)
- 7.—M. Fore part of a horse to the left, above is an uncertain symbol.  
 R.—Ram's head to the right, in a sunk square. AR 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (*My cabinet.*)
- 8.—MAPΩNITEΩN. Horse running; above is a laurel wreath.  
 R.—MHTPOΔOTO. Vine; the whole in a sunk square. AR 6. (*My cabinet.*)
- 9.—Head of a bacchante to the left, bound with a crown composed of ivy leaves and fruits.  
 R.—MAPΩNITEΩN. EΠI. ΘEOΔOTO. Vine with large bunches of grapes, within a square described by four equilateral bars in relief; outside these bars is the above legend and a thyrsus; the whole within a flat sunk square. AR 7. 255 $\frac{6}{10}$  grs. (*My cabinet.*)
- 10.—Head of Bacchus, with long flowing hair, crowned with ivy.  
 R.—EΠI. ΠOΘΩNHKO. MAPΩNITΩN. Vine in a square. Æ 4. (*My cabinet.*)

Excepting their being unedited, the foregoing series of silver coins offer nothing of material interest. I shall take this opportunity for remarking that the two coins attributed to this city, by Combe, in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, page 190, Tab. xxxv. Nos. 23 and 24, cannot belong to Maronea; see also Mionnet's Suppl.

tom. ii., p. 338, Nos. 831 and 832. I have had several similar coins, and they are universally found in Asia; they have been brought to me from Pergamus and other places, both in Mysia and Æolia. I am not, however, prepared to give them a fixed place in Numismatic Geography.

## KING OF THE ODRYSII.

## SEUTHES IV.

No. 1.—Eagle standing to the right.

R.—ΣΕΥΘΟΒ, in two lines within a wreath composed of ears of corn. Æ 3. (*My cabinet.*)

Two varieties of types have been published of Seuthes, which Cary, in his *Histoire des Rois de Thrace*, attributed to Seuthes III., king of Thrace. Visconti (*Iconogr. Gr.* tom. ii. p. 108,) restores them to Seuthes IV. king of the Odrysii. (See Sestini, *Descrip. Num. Vet.* p. 83, and *Lett. Num.* tom. ix. p. 19; also Mionnet, Suppl. ii. p. 365, Nos. 965 and 966.) I have followed Visconti's classification with my coin.

## PLOTINOPOLIS, THRACIA.

No. 1.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Τ. ΑΙ. ΑΔΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureated head of Antoninus Pius to the right.

R.—ΗΓΕ. ΓΑ. ΑΝΤΕΚΟΥ. ΠΑΩΤΕΙΝΟΠΟ. Ceres seated, wearing a turreted crown; a bunch of ears of corn in her extended right hand, and a torch in her left. Æ 9. (*My cabinet.*)

Mionnet, in his Suppl. ii. p. 479, No. 1636, describes a coin of this emperor, in the cabinet of M. Tochon, where he writes the name ANTEIXOY instead of ANΤΕΙΚΟΥ.

## SALA, THRACIA.

This city must be effaced from the list of numismatic cities, Streber (*Num. Nonnulla Graeca*, p. 105,) has shewn that the coin attributed to it by M. Allier (Dumersan, *Descript. des Méd. Ant. du Cab. de M. Allier de Hauteroche*) belongs to Sestos, and that the people of this latter city used indifferently the letters ΣΑ or ΣΗ to denote their name. I strongly approve of M. Streber's restitution; and, in support of his arguments, I can add that I have frequently received parcels of coins from Sestos, in which were several coins where both varieties of orthography might be observed on coins in every other respect the same.

## TIRIDA, THRACIA.

No. 1.—Pegasus flying to the right; above, a trident; below, the Phœnician Koph.

R.—Sunk square, within which is a mask front face, and in each corner of the square the letters  $\begin{smallmatrix} T P \\ H I \end{smallmatrix}$ . AR l.  $9\frac{3}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

2. Head of Apollo laureated, to the left.

R.—A sunk square; within, a laurel branch, and the letters in the corners THPI, arranged as No. 1. AR l.  $7\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Fore part of a horse to the right.

R.—A square divided into four compartments, in each compartment a letter:— $\begin{smallmatrix} T P \\ H I \end{smallmatrix}$ . AR l.  $6\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

All these coins have been published, but the singular disposition of the letters, which, by leaving the reader undetermined as to their true positions, has given rise to a variety of opinions amongst numismatists regarding their origin. The No. 1, with a mask on one side and a Pegasus on the other, was assigned to Priene, in Ionia, and

Ermione, by Mionnet<sup>1</sup> and Sestini;<sup>2</sup> the legend on the examples they had in view led them into error. The same coin, somewhat later, was attributed to Corinth, both by Cousinery<sup>3</sup> and de Cadalvene;<sup>4</sup> the type of the Pegasus, and the initial letter of the name of that city, justified in some measure the mistake. No. 2 has been equally the subject of discussion: it is given to Tyrassa, in Macedonia, by Sestini,<sup>5</sup> who erroneously read TYPI on his coin; to Teria in Troas, by Allier de Hauteroche;<sup>6</sup> Trieres, a people of Thrace, by Streber;<sup>7</sup> and Trieres, a city of Lycia, by Raoul-Rochette.<sup>8</sup> The coin, No. 3. is published for the first time by Millingen,<sup>9</sup> who, admitting the difficulty of the subject, imagines that that coin, as well as the others bearing a similar legend, may have been struck by the Treres, a powerful Thracian people, often mentioned by historians. There can be no doubt this diversity of opinion arises from the various ways the four letters are susceptible of being distributed; they admit of three combinations, THPI, TPIH, TPHI; and as one or the other readings are

<sup>1</sup> Tom. iii. p. 187, No. 889.

<sup>2</sup> Lett. Numisma. tom. ix. page 110, tab. v. fig. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Essai sur les Mon. de la Ligue Achéenne, p. 122, tab. 1, fig. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Rec. de Méd. Grecq. Ined. p. 175, No. 1, tab. ii. fig. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Lett. Num. Continuaz. tom. iv. p. 59, figs. 1 & 2.

<sup>6</sup> Dumersan, Catal. de Méd. Ant. du Cab. de Allier de Hauteroche, p. 79, tab. xiii. fig. 18; Mionnet. supp. tom. v. p. 582, Nos. 515, 516.

<sup>7</sup> Num. Græc. ex Mus. Reg. Bav. p. 124, tab. I, figs. 19, 20, 21, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Journal des Savans, Août, 1829. p. 301.

<sup>9</sup> Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins of Greek Cities and Kings. p. 40, tab. ii. No. 17. Millingen neglects to state where his coin exists. The one I describe I took to England in 1831, and presented it to the British Museum. A paper I had written on the subject at that time was read before the Antiquarian Society by Mr. Hawkins in 1832.

adopted the result, of course, must be different. Leaving the classification to Priene, Ermione, Corinth, Tyrassa, Teria of Troas, and Trieres of Lycia, out of the question, they no doubt originated with some people, city, or chief of Thrace or Macedonia, the places from whence they are constantly brought; and twenty years' experience have sufficiently enabled me to establish that fact. The peculiarity of the arrangement of the legend, and the fabric of the coin, identifies them with one or the other of these provinces. With regard to the legend, they assimilate with the coins of Acanthus and Troelium, where the letters are placed in four compartments of a sunk square,<sup>10</sup> as our No. 3; with those of Amphipolis, Neapolis, and Olynthus, where the letters occupy each corner, as our Nos. 1 and 2. The types of all three equally lead to the same conclusion: we find the mask on the money of Neapolis, the head of Apollo, in the same style on that of Chalcis, and the half-horse on Maronea. It is these reasons which have decided me on venturing another opinion to the great number already cited, and by assigning them to the city of Tirida, mentioned by Pliny<sup>11</sup> and Solinus,<sup>12</sup> am not without hopes of being correct. In the first place, Pliny informs us that Tirida was situated in the territory of Maronea; and, further, that the original inhabitants were colonists from the Chalcis of Macedonia. I have already remarked that the head of Apollo on No. 2 is executed in exactly the same style as it is on the coins of Chalcis; and the half-horse being the predominant type on the coins of Maronea,

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<sup>10</sup> See Cadalvene, loc. sup. cit. tab. i. fig. 22 & 23, and tab. ii. figs. 5, 6, 7, all of which were engraved from coins in my cabinet.

<sup>11</sup> Pliny, lib. iv. cap. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Solinus, cap. 15.

would be an appropriate symbol for one of its dependencies. I advance this opinion with caution, because I have long suspected that all these coins may possibly belong to some Thracian prince. The reader will recollect that the opinions of the learned were equally divided as regards certain coins, till M. Raoul-Rochette ingeniously ended the discussion by shewing, beyond all doubt, that they belonged to a prince of a Thracian people named Sparadocus.<sup>13</sup> May not, then, these coins have been struck by some chief of the same country, whose name has not reached us? The knowledge we possess of Thracian history is very limited, and doubtless many princes, and even dynasties, might have flourished, with whose names and actions we are unacquainted. There is a king of the Odrysae, which Thucydides<sup>14</sup> names Teres, the father of Sitalces, and contemporary with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and a second of the same name, mentioned by Cary.<sup>15</sup> It is true Thucydides writes this king's name *Τήρες*, an orthography at variance with our legend, on which the nearest combination, and the one I have adopted, is *Τηρε*. I merely throw out these hints to those who have better means than myself of pursuing the question, and who alone will be able to judge whether they merit any attention.

## TRAJANOPOLIS, THRACIA.

No. 1.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΚΕΒ. Profile of Julia Domna to the right.

<sup>13</sup> Lettre à M. Grotefend, sur quelques Med. des Rois de Thrace, dans les Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut. Archéologique, Sect. Français.

<sup>14</sup> Thucydides, lib. ii. cap. 29.

<sup>15</sup> Histoire des Rois de Thrace, p. 16.



R.—TPAIANOΠOΔEITΩN. Eagle, a laurel wreath in his mouth, standing on a thunderbolt. Æ. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, 9th April, 1840.

P. S. Combe, in his *Cat. of the Hunterian Mus.* p. 337, tab. lx., fig. 15, ascribes a coin to Tirida in Thracia. See Mionnet, tom. vi. p. 636, No. 159, and Suppt. ii. p. 500; but this last writer imagines that it rather belongs to Tricca, in Thessalia. See also Sestini, *Descript. Num. Vet.* p. 74.

## XX.

### REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT BRITISH AND ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.

THE earliest coins in Ruding's well-known and excellent work belong to a class on which the recent investigations of the French and English numismatists have thrown much light. One of the causes of the many false ideas of the origin of these coins appears to be, that many writers have failed to observe that the oldest and most primitive pieces are those which most resemble the coins of which they are

<sup>1</sup> Various circumstances have compelled us to delay the publication of these remarks of our learned and accurate correspondent. We have now much pleasure in printing them, feeling assured that they will be duly appreciated by our English numismatists.—*[Ed. Num. Chron.]*

copies. The earliest copies would thus be hard and stiff, while these copies being imitated in their turn, the original type was at length lost; and it is difficult, in some instances, to discover the origin, and trace the decline in their fabric, through the descending degrees. It is indisputable that the prototype of the greater number of the British and Gaulish coins is the gold and silver money of Philip II. of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. So celebrated were these coins, that we find close imitations of them in every cabinet, while the originals have become scarce; we thus discover pieces with the *type* and *name*, but without the *art* of the Greeks. What a range from these closely imitated pieces to those barbarously executed specimens, where the head by degrees has vanished; and nothing but the laurel which surrounded it is left! I have noted these degrees, and am therefore convinced of what would otherwise be declared impossible. It is also evident that what issued near the time and source of the original coinage is most like; hence we find that, in Dacia and Pannonia, coins struck in imitation of those of Philip are much more like their prototype than those struck in Gaul and Britain, which were, in fact, imitations of imitations.

The gradations in the style of these rude coins afford but little help to their chronology; yet it may safely be conjectured that vast numbers of them must have been struck before the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar: and though many may have been carried from Gaul to Britain, some were doubtless coined in the latter country, and we need not hesitate to believe that the much disputed passage in Cæsar has been misunderstood. It is worthy of observation that these barbarous coins are found in the western countries, from the septentrional frontiers of the empire of Philip; and that they are discovered in Hungary, Bohemia,

(rarely in Germany), and Britain,—in the latter more, I believe, in the southern part.

If these conjectures be well founded, I should propose a different arrangement to that of Ruding with respect to these coins. The first coins given by that author are connected with some found in Bohemia, and named by the old writers, “Regenbogenschüsseln,” and by Mader, “coins of the Donaubarbaren.” The most remarkable and least barbarous of this kind is published in the “Museum Hedevarium,” Tab. xxx. fig. 669, and has the inscription (A?)TTINAN (which is not observed in the catalogue), as well as by Neumann and Bauer, who have published similar coins, but less perfect specimens, of which I have examples. Ruding’s No. 5 is the predecessor of No. 2.

Though most of the coins of the barbarians are imitations, still the types of some have been altered, or even invented by the natives: all the coins of Cunobelinus do not appear to be imitations.

## II.

Between the period of which I have spoken above, and that on which I shall proceed to remark, is a very long interval, during which the Roman money appears to have been in general use and circulation. On the invasion of the Saxons, new coins were introduced, and the types of these appear to have been derived from the money of the Merovingian kings. This gave rise to the pieces termed *Sceattæ*; and here I must again differ from the arrangement of Ruding, who assigns to the earliest mintage those pieces which are clearly copies of less barbarous imitations. I should place first in order the pieces engraved in the second table, figures 26 to 37, which mostly resemble the Merovingian coins, and bear legends with purely Roman

characters. Those of figures 22 to 25 should follow. Some of the most remarkable are the imitations of these coins in the same plate, Nos. 9, 13, 14. These are bilingual, the legends of the reverses being in Roman characters, while those of the obverse are in Runic characters. The Runic characters were certainly brought to England by the Saxons, but fell into disuse, the more convenient cursive character of the Romans having supplanted them. It is curious to observe that the snake and dragon, and bird, so common on the Scandinavian antiquities, and belonging to the later periods of paganism, constantly appear on these coins. English numismatists must determine if the coins of pl. iii., Ethelbert I. and II., are genuine—whether forged or altered coins: they have an aspect unlike that which may be looked for in the coins of this period.

### III.

That the coins in pl. 11, figs. 5 and 6 of Ruding, belong to Anlaf of Northumberland, is shewn by those which follow of Erik Blodaxe, which bears the same moneyer's name; but Nos. 1, 2, 3, in the same plate, I fear, are misplaced, and belong to Anlaf Quarren, the elder brother of Sithric Silkeskjog. The mint-master, *Farman*, continued to mint under Sithric in Dublin, and the whole are of a different character to the Northumbrian coins. Cünunc is the Scandinavian appellation of king, but Anlaf Quarren was of Scandinavian origin, as well as Anlaf of Northumberland.

That not only the list of mint-masters and mints, but even the types of the following kings, may be much enlarged, is very certain; but I shall here do no more than adventure

some hints for their enlargement. The Numismatic Journal,<sup>2</sup> of Dr. Grote, contains representations of coins of Ethelred, the types of which were not known to Ruding, but which are to be found in the cabinets of Scandinavia and Germany. In No. 313, vol. ii. of the *Blätter*, is a coin not well described, but it is certainly of *Ælfsige*, of Winchester, a type entirely new. Not less unknown, but still more remarkable, is the coin published by Erlestein, in his *Numismatische Bruchstücke*, 3tes Heft, No. 23. I need not observe, that the obverse has the king's head, and *Agnus Dei*; and that on the reverse is the inscription, not as Erlestein reads it, but *ÆDELVI ON STANFORDA*. In this piece, we have the prototype of the coins of Harthacnut and Svend of Denmark. The coin engraved by Ruding, pl. 27, and supposed to be of the Danish king, Svend Tveskjog, is taken from the old very uncritical work of Bircherod. Recent discoveries of coins have shewn us, that *SVEIN* is not the name of the king, but of the moneyer, and that these pieces were almost all coined at Viborg, in Jutland, but not before the reign of Svend Estrithson. The editors of the *Beskrivelse*, &c., gave these coins to Svend Grathe (1157), but the fabric, as well as the weight, and their being found with coins no later than Svend Estrithson (1076), prove to which king they belong. But we are in possession of two coins, which indisputably belong to Svend Tveskjog. This has been proved by Professor Ramus, in the *Skandinavisk Litteraturselskabs Skrifter*. The first has been known more than a century ago, and has been published by Keder, and others after him. The first is in the royal cabinet at Stockholm, and a second is

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<sup>2</sup> *Blätter für Münzkunde*. We have done our utmost to make this Journal better known to our English Numismatists.—[ED.]

in the collection of Mr. Mohr, of Bergen, in Norway; the other, somewhat different, is in a private collection in this city. One of the causes that these three coins are now so scarce is, in all probability, their being so very heavy in proportion to the following.

With regard to the coins of Canute the Great, and his son, Harthacnut, it should be borne in mind, that this king reigned not only over England, but also over Denmark, and the first, for a time, even over Norway, and part of Sweden. Though the coins from the Scandinavian countries are much rarer than those of England, they are still known to exist, and must not be confounded with the money of that country. By a similarity of orthography, the chief places of mintage, *London* and *Lund*, in Schonen, are spelled alike on the coins; but we have the means of knowing what pieces were struck in England, and what in Schonen, and principally by observing the name of the moneyer. Thus, it is evident, that Ethelred, Harold, Harefoot, and Edward the Confessor, did not strike money in Schonen, while Magnus the Good, and Svend Estrithson, held no dominion in England, and consequently could not have coined in London. We have good reason to believe, that the coins of Harthacnut, with these names, were struck in Denmark. Among the coins of Canute, engraved by Ruding, in pl. 23, is one (No. 21), which puzzled Ruding. It is a Danish coin, the place of mintage being denoted by VIB. Many coins of Canute's son shew us that this is an abbreviation of *Viberga* (Viborg in Jutland). No 26, in the same plate, does not belong to Canute the Great, but to Canute the Saint. By examining, not the engraving, but the coin, you will find the legend to be CNVT REX DANOR; and on the reverse

OÐBIORN I LVNDI. The type was borrowed from one of the coins of Edward the Confessor.

The lists of Anglo-Saxon coins in the collections at Lund and Upsala, and those found at Egersund, in Norway, published by Hildebrand, Schröder, and Holmboe, has very much added to our knowledge of these coins; but I hope that the rich stores of Copenhagen and Stockholm will furnish additional matter for their illustration, since by means of the far famed Danegeld, Scandinavia is better stored than England.

I trust these remarks will not cause it to be supposed that I have in any way underrated the merits of Ruding's laborious work, a work to which all numismatists are so much indebted. I am, &c. &c.

— THOMSEN.

*Copenhagen.*

*To J. Y. Akerman, Secretary to the  
Numismatic Society, London.*

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## MISCELLANIES.

THE CURRENCY OF NORTH AMERICA.—At a meeting of the Numismatic Society, on the 28th of May, 1840, the following letter addressed by Mr. Stearns, of Boston, to Dr. Bowditch was read.

“ My answers to your enquiries in relation to the early history of the coinage of our country, must, from my want of *accurate* information on the subject, be very brief and imperfect; but such facts as are within my knowledge I communicate with great pleasure.

“ I pass over, without notice, the coins struck *in Great Britain* for the American colonies, believing that much more is known of their history, in England, than here. I refer particularly to the ‘ American Rose Money’ of Geo. I., the Maryland coins of Cecil Lord Baltimore, and the Virginia halfpenny of Geo. III., with the date of 1773. Here I may remark, that (probably) the best collection of American coins, struck before the adoption of the constitution of the United States, which is to be found in this country, was bought in London, a few years since by J. Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia.

“ I have never seen any *colonial* coins, struck *in this country*, except the Massachusetts *pine tree money* as it is called. As far as the coins of Massachusetts are concerned, I refer you to the late treatise of Mr. Felt, which contains all the information within my knowledge, in relation to the coinage of this state; I have heard, however, of the *Good Samaritan* shilling of Massachusetts; but of the coin I have never seen even a description. Mr. Felt informs me that he knows nothing of it.

“ Dr. Holmes in his *American Annals* (under the date of 1662), says that a mint was established in Maryland, in that year; and cites as his authority, Chalmers, b. i. 248. I have never seen any coins which I supposed to have been struck at this mint; they are, however, known in England. The few Maryland coins, which have come within my notice, are too highly finished to have been coined in this country at so early a period as the date above referred to.

“ After, or during, the American revolution, and before the adoption of the constitution of the United States, five of the states, at least, (and perhaps more) established mints, viz., Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey.



It is said that in Rhode Island, a halfpenny was coined called vulgarly the 'Bung-town copper;' but this I have not seen. There is also a gold coin of New York, of the value of about ten dollars; but I know nothing of the place of its coinage, or of its history. *Obverse*, the arms of New York; *Reverse*, the arms of the United States. The only specimen within my knowledge is in the possession of Mr. Gilmore, of Baltimore. I have not seen the coin, and do not know even its date.

"There are some six or eight copper coins, with the head of Washington. Whether they were struck by authority I know not. I have but three of the number. Most of them it is supposed were coined at Birmingham, on private account, and put in circulation here, *as a speculation*.

"I send you, herewith, with much pleasure, all the duplicates of North American coins in my collection, struck before the year 1789; and with them are the three small silver coins of Hayti. I am sorry they are not in better condition, and more worthy your acceptance.

"1. The shilling, six-pence, three-pence, and two-pence of the Massachusetts colony.

"2. The cents of the state of Massachusetts, dates 1787 and 1788, and one half cent, date 1787; I am not aware of the existence of any other coins struck at the mint at which these were coined. All that I know in relation to these coins may be found in the treatise of Mr. Felt.

"3. A cent, or halfpenny of Vermont.

"4. Two halfpennies of Connecticut.

"5. Two halfpennies of New York.

"6. Three halfpennies of New Jersey.

"7. Two Washington cents.

"8. Four pieces (copper) of the United States, dates 1783, 1785, 1787, 1787; of these coins I know nothing, except that the '*Dial Cent*' of 1787 was struck by order of Congress.

"9. Three small silver coins of the Republic of Hayti, two of Boyer, and one of Petion.

"I have some duplicates of American coins, struck before the establishment of the present mint, with which I can furnish you, if you should wish to procure them.

"Marshall in his late treatise on the silver coin, and coinage of Great Britain, says, 'There are *half-crowns* (of Charles II.) of every date from 1663 to 1684, except the years 1665, 1667, and 1668, in which I have not met with any.'

"My collection of English coins is very small; but I have a half-crown of Charles II. of the year 1668. Can you inform me whether it is really *rare*? If so, I should like to know the fact.

"Permit me to add, in justice to myself, and by way of apology for the meagre information contained in this note, that I have never seen Ruding's *Annals of British Coinage*; I ordered a copy from England nearly a year ago, but for means best known to the bookseller who promised to procure it for me, it has not yet arrived.

"If I can furnish you with any aid in your further enquiries, I shall be very glad to do so. Very respectfully yours,

W. G. STEARNS.

Boston, March 18, 1840.

THE FRENCH COINAGE.—M. Adrien de Longpèrier, of the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, announces for publication a work under the title "*Collection des Monnaies frappées dans les Provinces de France pendant le Moyen Age*," in livraisons, twelve of which will appear in the year. It will be printed in the quarto form, and will be illustrated by numerous plates from drawings executed by M. de Longpèrier himself. The value and importance of such a publication will not, we are sure, be overlooked by our countrymen, whom we invite to subscribe to it. The inaccuracies and imperfections of the work of Duby have long been experienced, and the present publication will be welcome to all who make the money of the middle ages their study. The zeal, industry, and ability of M. de Longpèrier justify our saying thus much, in the anticipation of a work to which we cordially wish success.

NEW EDITION OF RUDING.—The new edition of this work is now completed to the present time, forming three handsome quarto volumes, one of which is composed entirely of plates. It is the intention of the publisher to issue a supplementary plate, as soon as the whole of the coins of her present Majesty shall be completed. Besides many new plates of coins the present edition contains *an index to every piece engraved*. The want of this has been experienced by all who possess the former editions. We have before observed that Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, will not be found useful merely to the Numismatist, it is indispensable to all engaged in the study of our history, and no well selected library should be without it.

COINS OF THE FAMILY VALERIA.—M. Charles Lenormant has published a learned and interesting dissertation on the coins of this family bearing the name of Valerius Ascululus, the types of which must be familiar to our readers. We regret our inability at present to do more than announce the appearance of this elegant little brochure.

COLLECTION OF THE BARON EDELSBACHER OF VIENNA.—This collection is announced for sale by private contract, for the sum of one hundred thousand francs; the following is a summary:—

Consular coins, in silver .....	644
Imperial, comprising 3 large and 36 small medallions.....	424
Imperial, in silver and brass, including 36 medallions in brass and 32 in silver.....	6000
Greek, in the three metals .....	5800
Contorniatii .....	11
Barbarous .. .....	128

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Total 13007 Coins.

It is said that the collection comprises many unique pieces. If this be really the case, it is much to be regretted that a catalogue has not been made of the select coins at least.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN SPAIN.—I have received information of a considerable find of Roman coins at Italica, close to Seville, in Spain. The six forwarded to me are all family denarii, one of the *Acilia* family SALVTIS. Head of the goddess Salus, laureated to right. R. M. ACILIVS.IIIVIR. VALETIV, Salus standing. *Antonia*, M.ANTONIVS IIIVR.R.P. C.M.NERVA. PPOQP. Head of M. Antony. R. L.ANTONIVS. COS. Head of L. Antony. *Fonteia*, P.FONTEIVS.P.F. CAPITO III VIR. Protome of Mars bearing a trophy. R. NV. FONT.TR MIL., Horseman galloping over two other figures. *Mamilia*, &c. Protome of Mercury in the petasus and caduceus. R. C.MAMIL. LIMEAN. Ulysses and his dog, (crenated). *Plancia*, L.PLAVTIVS. Head of the Gorgon, full face. R. (PLAN)CVS winged figure flying, holding by the bridle four horses. *Pompeia*, laurelled head; behind, an unknown object. R. Q.POMPONI MVSA. Apollo Musagetes standing (plated coin). All these you may perceive, are well known types.

SAMUEL BIRCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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THURSDAY, 26TH OF MARCH, 1840.

*Professor H. H. Wilson, Vice President, in the Chair.*

Medals in silver and bronze of *Volta*, and in commemoration of the coronation of the emperor of Austria, were announced as presents from Count Dietrichstein of Vienna.

Colonel Leake presented a copy of Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia."

The following papers were read:—

I.

On the Coins assigned to Histiaëa. By H. P. Borrell, Esq. (*Num. Chron.* p. 232).

II.

On the Coins of Pellene. By the same. (*Num. Chron.* p. 237).

III.

A Memoir on the Coins of Zancle. By Thomas Burgon, Esq. (*Num. Chron.* p. 40).

The Society then adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 30TH OF APRIL, 1840.

*Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.*

Presents having been announced, the following papers were read:—

## I.

A Memoir by Monsieur Charles Lenormant on the Characters found on Celtiberian Coins. Translated from the "Revue Numismatique" by C. R. Smith, Esq.

William Tayler Peter Short, Esq., of Heavitree, near Exeter, was elected a member, when the Society adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 28TH OF MAY, 1840.

*Charles Frederick Barnewell, Esq., F.R.S., in the Chair.*

Presents were announced, and the following papers read:—

## I.

A Memoir, by S. Birch, Esq., on the Coins of Phæstus. (*Vide Num. Chron. p. 69*).

## II.

A Letter addressed to Dr. Bowditch by W. G. Stearns, Esq., on the Currency of North America. (*Vide Num. Chron. p. 123*).

The Society then adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 25TH OF JUNE, 1840.

*Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.*

Read the following papers:—

## I.

A Memoir on the Coins reading "Occocleon," by H. P. Borrell, Esq., (*Vide Num. Chron. p. 35*).

## II.

A Note relating to the family of the Roettiers, from a MS. in the possession of Benjamin Nightingale, Esq.

— Harrison, Esq., of ———, was elected a member.

The Society then adjourned their ordinary meetings over the recess to November, 1840.

At the ANNIVERSARY MEETING ON THURSDAY, the 15th of JULY, the following gentlemen were unanimously chosen for the ensuing session:—

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OFFICERS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

FOR 1840—1.

President.

Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.

Vice-Presidents.

John Lee, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

H. H. Wilson, Esq., Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.

Treasurer.

James Dodsley Cuff, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Samuel Birch, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., K.S.F., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Librarian.

Hugh Welch Diamond, Esq., F.S.A.

Council.

C. F. Barnewell, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.	Colonel C. R. Fox.
John Bergne, Esq.	Edwin Guest, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.
John Brumell, Esq.	William Debonaire Haggard, Esq., F.S.A.
John William Burgon, Esq.	Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.
Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., B.C.L. Sec., S.A.	William Rae Smee, Esq.
&c.	L. H. J. Tonna, Esq.
John Field, Esq.	

*From the Minutes of the Council of the Numismatic Society.*

*26th Dec. 1839.*

- RESOLVED, 1. "That such Members of the Society as may be desirous of being supplied with the Numismatic Chronicle will be furnished with it regularly, upon payment of an additional contribution of nine shillings.
2. "That in consideration of the subscription of the Society to the Journal, the publishers be expected to supply a sufficient number of copies of reports of the proceedings for the supply of the Members.
3. "That the Numismatic Chronicle be denominated 'The Journal of the Numismatic Society,' from the period of the subscription.
4. "That the connexion of the Society with the Journal continue only so long as it is conducted by one or more of the officers of the Society."

J. Y. AKERMAN,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

- A. Z. The coin of Julius Cæsar with the legend "*Egypto Capta*," engraved by Pinkerton in his "*Essay on Medals*," is a forgery.
- D. O. (Durham). The coin is, as our correspondent supposes, of Lorenzo Tieopolo. The money of this Doge is not uncommon.
- Mr. Levinge observes—"In Ficorini's work '*La Vestigia e Rarità di Roma Antica*,' is an inscription regarding Macrinus and Diadumenianus, from an ancient tube of lead, which begins IMP. CAES. M. OPELLI. SEVERI. MACRINI. etc. etc. '*Da questa Inscrizione*,' says the venerable antiquary, '*s'apprende quel che non si legge in Erodiano, ne in altri auctori dove parlano di detti due principi, cioè il nome di Opellius. Anzi che nelle medesime loro monete, si legge solamente OPEL. che i dotti Antiquarii l'han letto Opelius e Opilius, ma se vede che detto nome era formato colle due LL, etc, etc*". In reference to this passage we have to observe that there cannot be a doubt of the correct orthography of the Roman Coins on which the name is invariably OPELIUS. On a colonial coin the word *Diadumenus* is found instead of Diadumenianus.
- Q. The collection of the Chevalier de Horta has been disposed of by private contract.
- J. T., (Cambridge). The coins of Tarsus, Saint Paul's birth-place, shew that it was a *Free City* by the frequent occurrence of the title Ελευθερα.
- Tyro* will find the required information in Mr. Lindsay's recent work on the coins of Ireland.
- A. The Numismatic Society's meetings are held *monthly*, from November to the end of June. Business commences at seven o'clock, p. m. Mons. Longpèrier's work on the *Sassanian Coins* may be obtained through our publishers.
- Monsieur *Thomas* of Rouen, has our best thanks for his polite communication, to which we shall reply by letter. The pen-nies of Henry the third are common to excess in England.

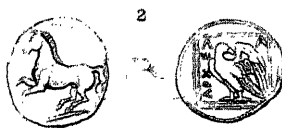


- Δ. The loops which are so often found attached to gold medallions of the lower Empire shew that they were used as decorations. They were probably presented by the Emperors to their favourites on particular occasions.
- R. W. The portraits on the excessively common small brass coins of Postumus and Victorinus are very striking indeed, and there can be no doubt of their accuracy as likenesses. The fine brass medallion of Victorinus in the French cabinet bears a portrait exactly like that on his coins, while the medallions of Postumus always present those features, with which all collectors are familiar.
- The little gold coin, of which an impression has been forwarded to us by M. A. Durand, is of Cyzicus, in Mysia. It is described and engraved by Sestini in his "*Descrizione degli stateri Antichi*," p. 57. Tab. V. fig. 13. The same piece is incorrectly described in the "*Catalogue D'Ennery*," p. 63, No. 39. The specimen engraved by Sestini is wretchedly drawn, and does not do justice to this elegant little coin.
- M. Charles De Rheims shall hear from us by letter.





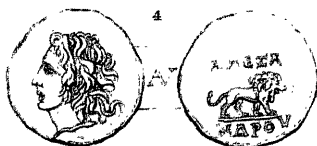
AMPHIPOLIS.



ARCHELAUS.



AMYNTAS III.



ALEXANDER III.

Magnus



ALEXANDER III.

Magnus.

## XXI.

UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL  
GREEK COINS.

By H. P. BORRELL, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 19th November, 1840.]

## EUPOLEMUS PAEONIAE REX.

I CANNOT concur in opinion with those who class to a king of Pæonia the coins similar to that in Mionnet (Suppl. ii. p. 560), No. 60, as they are always found in Asia Minor.

## AEANE, MACEDONIA.

AEANIΩ. Centaur carrying off a female, in the field, a flower.

R.—Indented square, divided into four compartments.  
Size, AR. 4. Wt. 142 grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

Both Suidas and Stephanus place in Macedonia a town they name Aeane, without indicating its situation; but as the type of this coin differs by the legend only from others of Lete, Orestia and Thasos, it is probable that it was not far distant from those cities. Perhaps this Aeane may be one of those cities founded by Aeanus (son of Elymus, king of the Tyrrhenians), at the foot of Mount Athos, recorded by Thucydides (lib. iv. cap. 109), a situation which agrees perfectly with that of other cities using the type impressed upon this coin. Whether their comparative state of barbarism, or the little interest which the early history of the different provinces of Macedonia and Thrace was calculated to excite, is the cause of the silence of ancient authors, it is difficult to decide. The daily discoveries in numis-

matic science serve frequently to augment our astonishment, and we become more sensible of the loss we sustain by their extraordinary neglect. The subject represented upon this coin, as before stated, is similar to that on the currency of many other cities; it alludes very probably to some religious rites peculiar to these people; the letters are of very ancient form, and indicate the coin to be of remote antiquity.

#### AMPHIPOLIS, MACEDONIA.

##### No. 1.—Two fishes.

R.—Rude indented square. AV. 1. (*Cabinet of the Chevalier Ivanoff at Smyrna.*)

##### 2.—Head of Apollo laureate, full face.

R.—AMΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ inscribed on the borders of a sunk square, in the midst of which is a lighted torch and a small tripod. AR. 6. 217 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

##### 3.—Head as the preceding.

R.—AMΦΙ and a torch; the whole within a laurel wreath. AR. 3. 35 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Same cabinet.*) See plate, fig. 1.

The proprietor of the small coin in gold assures me it was discovered in Macedonia, and I have no hesitation in ascribing it to Amphipolis, as the same species of fish is seen on a silver coin engraved in Dumersan (*Déscrip. des Méd. du Cab. de M. Allier de Hauteroche*, pl. iv. No. 15). Of the Nos. 2 and 3, the first differs from those published by the accessory symbol of a tripod, the second is new.

#### BERHAEA, MACEDONIA.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Head of Alexander the Great to the right.

R.—KOINON ΜΑΚΕΔΑ . . . ΝΕΩΚ ΒΕΡΟΙΕ. Horseman passant to the right, a lance in his right hand, and a trophy on his shoulder. Æ. 7. (*Formerly in my cabinet, now in the British Museum.*)

The name of this city is written variously, not only by ancient authors, but also on the coins, sometimes *Βερραι*, as on the present, and *Βερραιν* on others. The only coins we have of Berhaea appear to have been struck in honour of Alexander the Great: some of them bear the numerals ΕΟΕ (275) of the era of the battle of Pharsalia, which corresponds with the sixth year of Alexander Severus, by which we may infer that not only these pieces, but also all those with the portrait of Alexander the Great, with various reverses, and the legend ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, were struck under the same emperor.

## EURYDICEA, MACEDONIA.

Veiled female head to the right (Eurydice, daughter of Lysimachus).

R.—ΕΥΡΙΑΙΚΕΩΝ. Tripod. Æ. 4. [See Visconti, tab. xl., No. 13.]<sup>1</sup>

I merely advert to this coin, which has occupied the attention of several numismatists, in order to approve its restitution to Macedonia; for although no town of the name of Eurydicea is noticed by geographers, yet its fabric, and the places where most of these coins are found, justify the opinion. With regard to the veiled head on the obverse, there is no doubt but that it is intended for the portrait of some princess of the name of Eurydice; but as there were several of that name who appear to have each equal claims, it has always remained a matter of perplexity to those who have endeavoured to assign it to one of them. The mother of Philip II., of Macedonia, the

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<sup>1</sup> See also Mionnet, tom. ii., p. 202; and Suppt., tom. iii., p. 77; Eckhel. Num. Vet., tom. ii., p. 269; Pellerin, Rec., tom. i., p. 116; Sestini, Classes Générales, p. 37.

wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the daughter of Lysimachus, were all named Eurydice, and they are the principal candidates set forth by those who have attended to the subject. The mother of Philip I will discard from this list, because at that period the custom of representing the portraits of mortals, however exalted their rank, did not prevail. Of the two remaining females, I am persuaded it is the daughter of Lysimachus who is intended. I hold myself blameless from presumption in coming to this conclusion, when numismatists of the greatest celebrity have declined offering a decided opinion on the subject; those writers not having had the advantage we now possess, which renders the task more easy. My motives for assigning the portrait to the daughter of Lysimachus are, first, the analogy that exists between the style of the portrait on the coin of Eurydicea and that on the coin struck by the Ephesians for Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus (see *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. p. 171); and secondly, because, independently of the portrait of Arsinoe, we have another of the son of the same prince, Agathocles, struck by a city which took the name of Agathopolis in his honour; from which we may infer a peculiar disposition on the part of Lysimachus for demonstrating his attachment to his nearest relatives by impressing their features on the public money of cities under his controul, whilst not a solitary instance can be shown in favour of the only remaining claimant, the wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Eurydice was married to Antipater, third son of Cassander, who disputed the throne of Macedonia with Alexander and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Polyænus informs us that a queen of the name of Eurydice granted freedom to the city of Cassandrea (and Visconti supposes she must have been the wife of

Antipater), with the intention of binding its citizens more firmly to the cause of her husband. As it has been before remarked that Eurydicea is unnoticed in history, it becomes very probable that it was a name adopted in honour of this princess by some city, which, like Ephesus, took the name of Arsinoe for a time only, and must have abandoned it and re-assumed its primitive appellation after the fall of the family of Lysimachus. To seek which city that was, is perhaps a fruitless task, and should be left till further discoveries are made which may throw some light on the subject; but as it has been remarked that Eurydice was the probable dispenser of liberty to Cassandrea, it is not improbable the coins in question were struck there. This opinion, however, is not susceptible of demonstration, and I only notice it here as a case of probability; I will, however, state what has occurred to me in the way of practical experience, to which the reader may attach whatever importance he pleases. I received at one time, some years ago, two of these coins, the object of the present inquiry, in company with three others of Cassander, king of Macedonia, on the reverse of which is a tripod so exactly similar to the same symbol on the coins of Eurydicea, even in the most minute particulars, that they appeared to be from the same die. This circumstance, it may be urged, is merely fortuitous; but when it is considered that Cassandrea (previously Potidiaea) took its name from Cassander, that Eurydice was the daughter-in-law of that prince, and moreover the person who had granted freedom to the citizens of Cassandrea, there is strong presumption, in the present state of our knowledge, to suppose that both the coins of Cassander, king of Macedonia, bearing the type of a tripod, and those of Eurydicea, were struck in that city.



## EION, MACEDONIA.

No. 1.—Two swans walking abreast of each other ; above, an ivy leaf ; below, H.

R.—Indented square. AR. 1.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*In my cabinet.*)

2.—Another similar, but without the letter. AR. 1.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

The coins with a single swan, and sometimes a lizard, were formerly considered to belong to Camarina in Sicilia ; afterwards to Heraclea Sintica, in Macedonia. M. Allier de Hauteroche (*Déscrip. des Méd. Ant. du Cab. de M. Allier de Hauteroche*) was the first to assign them to Eion, a city of the same province, on the river Strymon. I concur with this last opinion, as regards those on which is seen the letter H, but it is not improbable that others with the letters A, A, Θ, O, or N (see *Mionnet, Suppl. tom. iii. p. 78, under Heraclea Sintica*), may have a different origin, as we have other examples of the same type having often been used in common by several Macedonian, Thracian and Thessalian cities.

The coins described above are new ; they have two swans instead of one, and their weight indicates that they were half the value of those on which we find a single bird.

## MENDE, MACEDONIA.

No. 1.—Silenus standing naked by the side of an ass, which he is holding by the ear.

R.—MENΔAION, and a crow ; the whole placed within a hollow square. AR. 4.  $37\frac{1}{4}$  grs. [broken.] (*Cabinet of the Bank of England.*)

2.—Head of a bacchante, crowned with ivy, to the right.

R.—MEN. Diota. Æ. 2. (*British Museum.*)

The territory of the Mendæans was famous for the production of excellent wine (*Athenæus, lib. i. cap. 23*) ; it is therefore not surprising that Silenus and Bacchus were

pre-eminently worshipped, particularly Silenus; the whole series of the coins of Mende bearing either his own figure, or some one of his attributes.

Both the coins I have described above are new; they were formerly in my collection, as were also the three published for the first time by Cadalvene (*Rec. de Méd. Gr. Inéd.* p. 64, Nos. 1, 2 and 4).

## NEAPOLIS, MACEDONIA.

No. 1.—A mask, front view.

R.—Bunch of grapes, incuse. AV.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . (*Cabinet of M. Garreri, of Smyrna.*)

Several gold coins, remarkable for their extraordinarily diminutive size, were found a few years ago near Cavalla, a modern town of Romelia, occupying the site of the ancient Neapolis, in Macedonia; from this circumstance, added to that of the mask being the usual type of Neapolis, I assign it to that city. This coin was selected from the little treasure by its present owner; the remainder were of rude fabric, and types undistinguishable.

## POTIDAEA, PALLENE.

No. 1.—Naked male figure (Neptune Hippias) on horseback, holding a trident horizontally; below the horse is a star.

R.—Rude indented square. AR. 7. (*Mr. Payne Knight's Collection, now in the British Museum.*)

2.—Naked male figure on horseback, as last; but he is agitating a trident, which he holds horizontally on a level with his head.

R.—Indented square divided in four equal compartments. AR. 2. 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—A female head, wearing a singular head-dress with long plaited hair, placed in a hollow square.

R.—Horseman, as No. 1; beneath, a star. AR. 3. 44 grs. (*My cabinet.*)—Another, formerly mine, now in the British Museum, weighs 42 grs.

No. 4.—Another, as the preceding, but instead of the star, the letter II under the horse. AR. 3. 41 grs. (*Formerly mine, now in the British Museum.*)

5.—Another, but with IO under the horse. AR. 3. 41 grs.

The indefatigable and erudite Sestini was the first to publish one of these remarkable coins (see *Dissert. Num. Vet.* p. 64); upon the one he describes from the Cousinéry collection, the letter O was only visible, and he consequently advanced some ingenious reasons for supposing it to belong to the Odrysae of Thrace. Several that have come under my notice consist of varieties as above described, the two last with II or IO and the figure of Neptune alluding to the name of Potidiæa, which is a sufficient authority for assigning them to this city. A notice I had written on the subject was read before the Antiquarian Society in 1832. I also communicated, in the previous year, my discovery to Mr. Millingen, who not only perfectly approved the proposition, but has published No. 5 in his last work (*Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins*, p. 47, pl. 2, No. 22), to which the reader may refer. The remarkable coin, No. 1, was published by the same writer in his *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings*, 1831 (pl. 5, No. 1), as of uncertain origin, but at the same time he considered the fabric to be either Thracian or Macedonian.

#### ARCHELAUS, REX MACEDONIAE.

Horse at full speed to the right.

R.—APXEΛ. An eagle standing, his wings expanded, and looking backward; the whole placed within a hollow square. AR. 3. 28½ grs. (*Formerly in my possession, now in the British Museum.*) See plate, fig. 2.

The type of an eagle is new on the coins of Archelaus, but it occurs again on one of Amyntas? A coin published

by Sestini, who instead of APXE reads APTE, and has erroneously assigned it to Artemisium, a city of Eubœa. (See *Lett. Num.* tom. v. p. 46, tab. ii. fig. 24.)

## PAUSANIAS, REX MACEDONIAE.

No. 1.—Youthful head, bound with a fillet, to the right.

R.—ΠΑΥΣ..... Horse walking to the right, placed within a slightly hollow square. AR. 6. 145 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Formerly in my cabinet, now in the Bank of England.*)

2.—Head, as last.

R.—ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ. Horse, as on the last; upon the animal's thigh is a caduceus. AR. 6. Plated. (*Same cabinet.*)

3.—Horse running, to the right.

R.—ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ. Fore part of a lion. AR. 3. Plated. (*My cabinet.*)

It is surprising that, with the exception of No. 1, which is of good silver, no coins have yet been discovered of Pausanias but what are of copper, merely cased over with a thin plate of silver. In this species of fraud the ancients attained extraordinary skill, and coins of a similar description are not unfrequently found of all ages, even those of the most remote antiquity. Why those of Pausanias should be mostly of this kind is not easily explained. M. de Cadalvene, who published the coin No. 1, while it was still in my possession,—a coin so rare, or rather unique, in good silver,—observes, that although plated coins are considered by some numismatists, as executed by forgers, that opinion is inadmissible, for he says, “On ne saurait raisonnablement supposer qu’elles aient été fabriquées en si grande quantité que celles-la seules soient restées, et encore moins que le hazard seul n’eût conservé que celles-la;” he consequently imagines that they were struck with the knowledge and concurrence of the prince. Without denying the possibility of the latter opinion, I do not consider the former

untenable, but am rather inclined to think it the most probable. It is well known that the short reign of Pausanias, the son of Aëropus, was one continued scene of anarchy. He had succeeded in obtaining the throne in preference to several competitors who had disputed that honour with him after the death of Archelaus, and civil dissension did not cease till after his demise, when he was succeeded by Amyntas III. It is equally certain that such a state of public confusion is peculiarly favourable to all species of malpractices as well as the greatest crimes, and among the former, the forgery of the public money is highly probable. The temptation to those capable of imitating it, by which luxuries and power are to be obtained at a trifling expense, is too great to be resisted; some individuals are to be found in every community too much disposed to avail themselves of the advantage, particularly when impunity is almost certain. The money struck by royal authority was probably of pure metal, the existence of the one cited above proves that there were some of that quality coined by this prince. When the Macedonians, who could no longer support the cruel tyranny of Pausanias, had dethroned him and placed in his stead Amyntas III., father of Philip, besides the odious public acts which must have been repealed, it is more than probable that his money was withdrawn from circulation by being recalled, in which case that of good metal alone would be received, and the forged remain with its possessor, which was rendered useless by its extreme baseness; thus it would be easily explained why the majority of the coins of Pausanias that have reached us, and which, after all, are few in number, are of base metal. When I say my coin of Pausanias is of good silver, I should have observed that it does not appear quite so free from alloy as the money of Archelaus, his predeces-

sor, nor that of his successor, Amyntas, which were struck at the end of his reign, by which it may be presumed that a trifling depreciation was effected by special command of the prince on account of the exigencies of the state, and this hypothesis may be assumed when it is considered that the first coinages of Amyntas III. appear to be precisely the same; and as those struck by him subsequently are of good silver, it is a proof that the confidence established by his wise government had brought out abundance of the precious metal, which had remained hidden during the period of anarchy. Even some of the early coins of Amyntas are found forged in the same manner as those of Pausanias, which enables us to judge that order was not immediately restored, but that the facilities enjoyed by forgers still existed, and that the practice suddenly ceased, as attended with too great danger, when once the laws resumed their power.

No. 2 is one of the forged coins; it is of copper, merely covered with a thin leaf of silver; in regard to the type, it is precisely the same as that which precedes, and only differs from that and others published by the mark of a caduceus which is branded on the horse's thigh, by which it appears the practice of marking horses is of remote antiquity. Anacreon alludes to this custom (*Odes*), and says it was performed with a hot iron; the same mark, a caduceus, occurs on the reverse of one of my coins of Amyntas III. Animals are often represented with marks branded on different parts of their bodies on engraved stones. Winckelmann (in his *Déscrip. des Pierres Gravées de Hosch*, p. 543) has published several from that collection. Arrian says that Alexander's favourite horse was marked with a bull's head, from which he was called Bucephalus.

## AMYNTAS III., REX MACEDONIAE.

No. 1.—Horseman at full gallop to the right, wearing the pileus on his head, a cuirass, and the chlamys over his shoulder, in the act of hurling a lance; the thigh of the horse branded with a caduceus.

R.—AMYNTA. Lion walking to the left, with a broken lance in his mouth. AR. 6. 163½ grs.

2.—As the preceding, but without the caduceus on the horse's thigh. AR. 6. 152¼ grs. See plate, fig. 3.

Both these coins were originally in my possession, and are now in the collection of the Bank of England. I believe another only is known, which is in the Ducal Cabinet at Milan. M. de Cadalvene has published the first,<sup>1</sup> and it is necessary to remark that the caduceus on the horse's thigh had been engraved on the die, and consequently forms a part of the type itself, and is not properly, as M. Cadalvene has stated, *a countermark*, which implies a supplementary type struck at a period subsequent to the fabrication of the coin, for a special purpose, and perfectly independent of the primitive die.

## ALEXANDER III. MAGNUS, REX MACEDONIAE.


No. 1.—Head of Alexander the Great, bound with a fillet, to the left.

R.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Lion walking, to the right. AV. 4. 42¼ grs. (*Formerly in my possession, and now in the Bank of England.*) See plate, fig. 4.

2.—Head, probably of Alexander, covered with the lion's skin, as young Hercules, to the right.

R.—No legend; lion walking, to the left. AR. 2. 14½ grs. (*Formerly mine, now in the British Museum.*) See plate, fig. 5.

3.—Helmeted head of Pallas, and the helmet without any ornament, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ... Victory, her wings extended, standing to the right; a laurel crown in her right hand and a standard in her left; in the field, . Æ. 4. 59 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

<sup>1</sup> De Cadalvene, *Recueil de Médailles Grecques Inédites*, 4to., Paris, 1828; p. 101, fig. 2.

No. 4.—Head, as No. 2.

R.—ΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Jupiter Aëtrophorus sitting, to the left, the hasta in his left hand; in the field, a chimera, and the letters NO. AR. 7. 261½ grs. (*Formerly in my cabinet, now in the Bank of England.*)

5.—Head, probably of the king, covered with the skin of an elephant's head.

R.—ΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Jupiter, as last; in the field, a thunderbolt, and the letters OP beneath the chair. AR. 7. 230 grs. (*Formerly in my cabinet, now in the Bank of England.*) See plate, fig. 6.

Antiquaries are divided in their opinion regarding the effigies on the silver and copper coins of Alexander the Great, some attributing them to Hercules, whilst others imagine they are intended to represent the portrait of the Macedonian conqueror himself. Visconti has taken a middle path, and supposes that only those of one or two cities offer the portrait of the prince under the attributes of Hercules, and that the rest bear the imaginary effigy of that divinity, an opinion he formed in consequence of the features widely differing from each other on some of the coins. When, however, it is considered how numerous were the cities which struck these coins, and the length of time their fabrication was continued after Alexander's death, due allowance must be made for the apparent difference in the state of the arts at the places and periods in which they were struck; for probably there did not exist equal facilities in each city for obtaining a likeness of the prince, or if it did, the skill of the artist might have been deficient. From the earliest period the subject of the types on the public money was peculiarly and exclusively devoted to the representation of the images or the symbols of the gods; we have, therefore, no example of the portrait of any kind on ancient coins anterior to Alexander the Great, but as that prince was considered to have been the son of Jupiter, and



was acknowledged such by the oracle of Ammon, he was enabled to pervert with impunity many of the most sacred institutions. If it is supposed then that his portraits are intended on these coins, as they bear the attributes of Hercules, it would appear that he was still desirous of conforming, in some degree, with long established usages rooted in religious and national prejudices; it however opened the way for further innovations by his successors.

The brilliant exploits of Alexander, during his short reign, not only furnished inexhaustible themes for the poets and historians, but are as often made the subject on ancient monuments of all descriptions. Independently of the coins just alluded to, the fabrication of which was continued long after his demise, for public convenience, being as it were an universal currency, we find, from time to time, other coins struck at a still later period. Of this description are the Nos. 1 and 2 in my list, the former in gold, and the latter in silver. On No. 1, the head is represented bound with a fillet, and doubtless offers a correct likeness of Alexander taken from some authentic bust of that hero. Visconti has published one in silver, in other respects the same; the style of execution of these, and particularly the form of some of the letters, the epsilon being circular, justifies the observation of Pellerin, that they were struck under the Roman Emperors as late as the reign of Alexander Severus; but as Plutarch assures us that Caracalla was accustomed to offer divine honours to Alexander, some antiquaries have imagined they were struck by his order. No. 2 bears no legend, but the type on the reverse is precisely the same as the preceding; it is a lion walking, alluding to the worship of Hercules, the tutelary deity of the Macedonian kings. On the obverse is the head of the king covered with the spoils of the lion. It

must be observed that the primitive weight of this coin cannot be obtained with any degree of certainty, as the edges have been reduced for the purpose of setting it in a ring.

No. 3 is peculiar from its offering a type similar to that hitherto found only on the gold currency of this king and some of his successors.

Although Pellerin has published some of the silver coins of Alexander, the accessory symbols, letters or monograms in the field of which, induced him to believe that they were struck in European Greece, yet Eckhel is of a contrary opinion, and imagines rather they were struck in those cities of Asia Minor and Syria, situated in the vicinity of the sea coast. Hitherto I have inclined to the opinion of Eckhel, as I have rarely known any of these coins to bear the slightest mark of being struck in Greece Proper. The coin No. 4, however, obliges me in some measure to relax from the rigour of such a decision, and to acknowledge the probability that the rule is not without exceptions. That coin bears in the field a chimera, and beneath the chair on which Jupiter is seated are the letters NO; the former was the type almost exclusively used by the Sicyonians, and the letters NO are also found on a coin of that people in my cabinet, and which are probably intended for the abbreviation of a magistrate's name. It is from these data that I have hazarded the opinion that the coin was struck to the honour of Alexander by the Sicyonians. I have used caution in proposing this classification, from the same symbols, as before remarked, being by some other people, and although the letters connected with the symbol form a singular coincidence, that might still have been the effect of chance.

A similar coin to No. 5 is published by M. de Cadalvene; it is exceedingly rare, and that author justly considers

that it goes far to confirm the opinion that the portrait of the prince is intended upon all the silver and copper coinage of Alexander; instead of the spoils of the lion, the head here is covered with those of an elephant, and the features differ in no respect from those on the other coins; the type on the reverse is the same. A king of Epirus and Ptolemy IX., king of Egypt, afterwards adopted the same type, both of whom were named Alexander, by which it would appear they desired to compare themselves with the Macedonian conqueror, a circumstance affording a still further confirmation that the ancients themselves considered the effigies on the coins of Alexander the Great to have been portraits of that prince. These being the first coins of Alexander where the head is seen decorated with the spoils of the elephant, it is difficult to say upon what occasion they were struck; perhaps on account of his victories in Upper Asia. Their fabric appears to be Asiatic; that of mine is from the hand of no common artist. M. de Cadalvene's was, as he observes, probably struck at Apollonia, in Caria, from the symbol of a Pegasus in the field and the letters ΑΠ beneath the chair; mine has a thunderbolt and the letters ΟΡ, which may indicate its being struck at Orthosia, a city situated in the same province.

H. P. BORRELL.

*Smyrna, 9th April, 1840.*

[To Thos. Burgon, Esq., for the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.]

## XXII.

## MEDALS OF THE PRETENDER.

[THIRD SERIES.]

(Continued from Vol. II. p. 182.)

No. 69.—A Thistle with this legend : FLORESCAT · ET · PUNGAT [Let it flower and prick].

*Rev.*—A Trophy legend : CON · R · C · S · HOC · NUM · D · EX PRÆ · JAC. 1750. (*See Numismatic Journal*, page 76, October, 1837).

No. 70.—Bust of Prince Charles to the right, neck bare ; legend : REDEAT · MAGNVS · ILLE · GENIVS · BRITANNIÆ [May that great genius of Britain return].

*Rev.*—Britannia standing near a rock on the sea shore ; in her right hand she holds a spear, her left rests on a shield ; she is watching the progress of some ships ; legend : O · DIU DESIDERATA · NAVIS [O Ship long time wished for!] Exergue, LÆTAMINI · CIVES · SEPT · XXIII. MDCCLII. [Rejoice, O Citizens! 23rd Sept. 1752].

No. 71.—Bust to the right in Cardinal's robes and cap ; legend : HENRICVS · M · D · E · P · TVSC · CARD · DVX · EBOR S · R · E · Y · CANC [Henry, by the mercy of God, bishop of Tuscany, Cardinal, Duke of York, Vice-Chancellor of the Sacred Church of Ravenna]. Under the shoulder : FILIPPO · CROPANESE · F.

*Rev.*—Religion supporting in the left hand a Cross, in the right she holds a Bible open, at her feet rests a Lion, near her on the right, on the ground, lies the English crown and a Cardinal's hat ; in the distance is the Church of St. Peter's ; legend : NON · DESIDERIIS · HOMINVM · SED VOLVNTATE · DEI [Not by the desires of men, but by the will of God.] Exergue, AN · MDCCLXVI. [Year 1776].

No. 72.—Bust to the right in Cardinal's robes and cap ; legend :

HEN · IX · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX · FID  
DEF · CARD · EP · TVSC. [Henry IX., King of Great  
Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Car-  
dinal, Bishop of Tuscany]. Under the shoulder, G · HAM  
F. [George Hammerani, fecit].

*Rev.*—Religion supporting a Cross with her left hand, in her right  
hand she holds a Bible shut; a Lion, the English crown,  
and Cardinal's hat at her feet; St. Peter's Church in the  
distance on the left, and a Bridge on the right; legend:  
NON · DESIDERIIS · HOMINVM · SED · VOLUN-  
TATE · DEI [Not by the desires of men, but by the will  
of God]. Exergue, AN · MDCCLXXXVIII. [Year 1788].

No. 73.—Bust to the right a little different from No. 72.

*Rev.*—Rather different.

No. 74.—Bust to the left, mantle over the shoulder, hair flowing;  
legend: CAROLVS · III · N · 1720 · M · B · F · ET · H  
REX · 1766. [Charles III. born 1720, King of Great Bri-  
tain, France, and Ireland, 1766].

*Rev.*—LVDOVICA · M · B · F · ET · H · REGINA · 1772.  
[Louisa, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,  
1772].

No. 75.—Bust to the left, hair curled, and drawn off the forehead;  
legend: LVDOVICA · CAR · III · M · B · F · ET · H  
REG. [Louisa, of Charles III., Queen of Great Britain,  
France, and Ireland].

No Reverse.

No. 76.—The same as No. 75, but no legend.

No. 77.—The arms of Great Britain, surmounted by a ducal co-  
ronet, and Cardinal's hat; a cord and tassels on each side.

*Rev.*—An inscription: HENRICVS · CARDINALIS · DVX  
EBOR · S · R · E · CELLARIVS · SEDE · VACAN  
1774. [Henry, Cardinal, Duke of York, Vice-Chancellor  
of the Sacred Church of Ravenna, when the chair was  
vacant, 1774].

No. 78.—A Pattern piece for a Crown; bust to the right, flowing  
hair, mantle and slight armour; legend: IACOBVS · VIII.  
DEI · GRATIA [James VIII. by the grace of God].  
Under the bust, N · R [Nic. Roettier].

*Rev.*—A shield containing the arms of England, Scotland, Ire-  
land, and France, surmounted by a crown; legend: SCOT

ANGL · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · 1716 [King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, 1716]

No. 79.—A pattern for Shilling; bust the same as the crown; legend: IACOBVS · VIII · DEI · GRATIA [James VIII. by the grace of God].

*Rev.*—Four small shields crowned, containing the separate arms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland; between the shields are four sceptres, in the centre is a small thistle; inscription: SCO · AN · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1716 [King of Scotland, France, and Ireland, 1716].

No. 80.—This piece I consider to be a fanciful one.—Bust to the left of the young prince James; legend: IACOBVS TERTIUS [James III.]. With the reverse of the pattern for the shilling.

I have now brought to a close the list of the “Pretender Medals” as far as I have a knowledge of their existence, but I find in the following memoirs of Henry, the late cardinal of York, the last, in a direct line, of the royal house of Stuart, a medal of his with a different reading. The following account of a character, whose family once made a conspicuous figure in this country, may be considered interesting: Henry Benedict Maria Clemens, second son of James Stuart, known by the name of “The Pretender,” and of Maria Clementina Sobieski, was born at Rome, 26th of March, 1725, where he almost constantly resided. As a pretender to the throne of Britain, he was never very forward in urging the pretension; and his general conduct was that of an inoffensive and respectable individual. Towards the close of the year 1745, he went to France, to put himself at the head of 15,000 men assembled in and about Dunkirk, under the command of the Duke of Richelieu, by order of Louis XV. With this army Henry was to have landed in England in support of his brother Charles: but though preparations were made for embarking these troops, though one part did actually embark, not a single transport left

Dunkirk road; and Henry, receiving intelligence of the issue of the battle of Culloden, returned to Rome, where, much to the displeasure of his brother and friends, he took orders; and in 1747 was made cardinal by pope Benedict XIV., and afterwards bishop of Frascati and chancellor of the church of St. Peter. From that time the cardinal of York, the name he assumed on his promotion, devoted himself to the functions of his ministry, and seemed to have laid aside all worldly views, till his father's death, when he had medals struck, bearing on their face his head: "HENRICVS · NONUS · ANGLIÆ · REX." On the reverse a City, with "GRATIA · DEI · SED · NON · VOLUNTATE · HOMINUM." He died at Rome in the year 1801, aged 82 years.

W. D. HAGGARD.

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XXIII.

UNPUBLISHED BRITISH COINS.—No. VII.

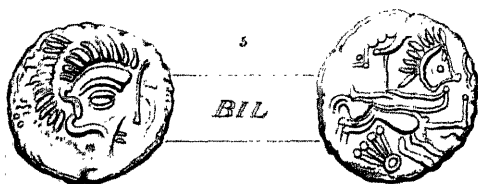
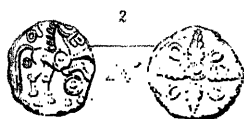
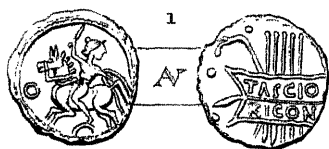
[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 19th, 1840.]

THE five coins represented in the accompanying plate, are particularly deserving the attention of our English Numismatists. The first four are in the collection of the Rev. Edward Trafford Leigh, by whom the originals were kindly forwarded for my inspection. No. 1 is very remarkable for the word or words, TASCIORICON, which appears in two lines within a compartment. All the letters are very distinct, except the R, which, from being imperfect at the top, appears somewhat like a K. This interesting coin is of *gold*, and weighs exactly 84





# ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.



grains troy. Mr. Leigh informs me that he obtained it of a peasant at Rome some years since.

No. 2 is also of *gold*, and weighs grains. The obverse presents the usual type, but the reverse differs from any British coin yet published, and is remarkable for the neatness of its execution. (*Found at Dorchester, Oxon.*)

No. 3 is of *copper*, and bears on the obverse a rude full-faced head, surrounded with a nimbus (?) like some of those on the rudest Byzantine money, and totally different from any British or Gaulish coin which has hitherto come under my notice. The reverse bears the barbarous figure of some animal, in all probability intended for a horse. This coin is an enigma, and, on this account, it is necessary to state that its authenticity has not been questioned.

No. 4 is of *copper*, and bears on the obverse a boldly drawn human head; the reverse has a confused medley of objects (among which is the pentagon), probably the result of those successive imitations alluded to in former notices. This coin has more of the Gaulish than the British character.

No. 5. This coin is composed of the mixed metal termed *billon*, and is engraved principally on account of its appearing to be a rude imitation of one of the Channel Island type.<sup>1</sup> It is in the collection of John Bell, Esq., of Gateshead, who states that it was found more than fifty years ago, near Hexham.

I am unable to offer at present any further conjectures on the origin of these curious coins, and must therefore content myself with the placing them on record, together with such particulars as I have been able to obtain respecting them.

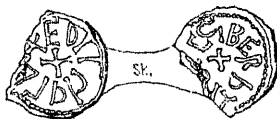
J. Y. A.

November 15th, 1840.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. p. 224, and plate I. No. 12.

## XXIV.



## ON THE NORTHUMBRIAN SKEATTAS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 19th, 1840.]

SIR,—Some time ago, Mr. Lindsay, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and since Mr. Hawkins, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, suggested a new appropriation of the Skeattas hitherto given to Egbert, king of Kent: they have transferred them to the Northumbrian series, and the names which are found on them, hitherto supposed to be those of moneyers, have been raised to the regal dignity; especially the coins which have on one side a figure with a pastoral staff and cross, which latter they consider were struck by the joint authority of Egbert, Archbishop of York, and Eadbert, King of Northumberland. I think I can add something in confirmation of this new arrangement.

After reading the papers above alluded to, I inspected afresh several Skeattas (hitherto reputed of Egbert of Kent) now in my possession, and of which I give a sketch, with the name, but without the figure, of Egbert, and with an unusual name on the other side. This name I could not immediately make out, but it struck me that if the new appropriation is correct, it ought to be the name of some other king of Northumbria than Egbert, who was cotemporary with Egbert the Archbishop. Upon a second examination of the coin, and taking the liberty of reading part of the legend backward, it appeared to be EDIIHALD, or supposing the second I, which is near the edge, to be an imperfect letter, EDILHALD. I then

referred to Speed's Chronicle, and found that Eadbert, having forsaken the world, as was the habit of the Anglo-Saxon princes, was succeeded by his son Oswulf, and the very next year Oswulf by Edilwald, who reigned six years, during the whole of which time Egbert still remained in the see of York. The conclusion which I draw from this, is that my coin was struck by the joint authority of Egbert, Archbishop of York, and Edilwald (otherwise called Mollo) king of Northumbria. The names of kings given by Chroniclers do not often exactly correspond with those which we find on their coins, and EDII<sup>1</sup>ƿV is as near to Edilwald as Eotberehtus is to Eadbert, or ELFVA<sup>1</sup>V to Elfwald.<sup>1</sup>

Should my conjecture be admissible, another will be added to the series of Northumbrian Skeattas, and Edilwald will find a place between Eadbert and Alchred.

I am, &c.,

*To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

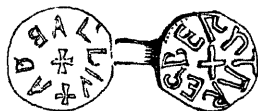
F. D.

[In confirmation of the appropriation proposed in the foregoing notice, we here give a note from Mr. Hawkins, together with the cut of the coin, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1832, Messrs. Nichols and Son having, with their usual courtesy and kindness, obliged us with the loan of the wood-block. We cannot let this opportunity pass without advertg to the great importance of such rectifications, and of expressing our surprise that up to so recent a period these coins should, without any enquiry whatever, have been assigned to the Saxon kings of Kent, while their fabric and general appearance approximated so closely to those pieces

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<sup>1</sup> See Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 3.

which, by the universal assent of English Numismatists, have been given to Northumbria.—[ED. NUM. CHRON.]



[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 19th, 1840].

THERE cannot be much doubt, but that your correspondent, F. D., is correct in supposing that the coin, of which he has sent you a drawing, was struck by the joint authority of Edilwald, king of Northumberland, and Egberht, archbishop of York. We may be quite certain that the letters AR followed the name of Egberht, if we compare the drawing with the woodcut of a coin which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1832, and though the reverse of that coin varies in some degree from the one sent you, I believe the difference to consist only in the blundering mode of spelling the same name, both being intended to express Ethelbald or Ethelwald. Supposing even that the name upon the reverse were that of a moneyer, it would not, in my opinion, invalidate the argument in favour of assigning to Northumberland the coin formerly supposed to belong to Kent. Upon pieces where the Northumbrian king's name alone appears, the reverse represents an animal which may perhaps have been a sort of badge or cognisance of that line of princes: where the name of the great northern prelate appears upon the coin the royal badge is omitted. The first may be considered as strictly regal coins; the others episcopal coins, issued by authority of the prelate, but containing upon the face of them an acknowledgment of the royal authority by whose license they were permitted to circulate. Thus we have upon Canterbury

episcopal coins the joint names of Iænberht or Æthilheard with Offa or Coenwulf. We have, however, archbishop Wulfred without any royal name, but with that of a moneyer upon the reverse; so, also, have we the York archbishops Eanbald, Vigmund, &c., with the names of moneyers on the reverse; we might therefore have archbishop Eegbert with a moneyer's name on the reverse, without our being at all obliged to consider Eotberhtus, Alchred, &c., as moneyers; these names appearing upon coins unaccompanied by any other name, which is never the case with that of a mere moneyer.

These observations upon Northumbrian coins give me an opportunity of explaining an apparent incivility towards Mr. Lindsay, and an apparent attempt to usurp his claim to having first proposed the removal to Northumberland of coins before assigned to Kent. This was done by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1827, and had I ever seen or heard of that paper, I should certainly not have written the one which was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for June, 1838, or at least only such a part of it as tended to confirm Mr. Lindsay's proposed arrangement.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning a coin of considerable rarity, perhaps unique, which has lately been acquired for the national collection. It bears on one side the name of Æthilheard, with his titles as archbishop (as it appears in Ruding, pl. xii. fig. 2), and on the other side it bears the name and titles of Offa (as fig. 1 in the same plate). This coin militates against the ingenious conjecture of L. Y. H. (see *Numismatic Chronicle* for April, 1840, p. 210), that Æthilheard did not bear the title of archbishop till the Pall, which had been removed from Canterbury by the desire of Offa, during the prelacy of Iænberht, was restored to that see by Coenwulf.

E. H.

## XXV.

## MEMOIR ON THE ROETTIERS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 17th December, 1840.]

WALPOLE, the digester and publisher of Vertue's "Anecdotes connected with the Arts in England," was the first to render any particulars of the Roettiers, whom he very properly designates as "a family of Medallists," and adds truly, speaking of king Charles the Second's time, "the medallists in this reign lie in a narrow compass, but were not the worst artists."

The restoration of the monarchy, in the person of king Charles the Second, in May, 1660, presented a vastly different tone of political influence compared with the Commonwealth authorities, under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, or that of his son Richard: hence the entire subversion of every appearance that the powers of the usurpation had ever existed, the annihilation of official seals, and the almost immediate proclamation of the noncurrency of the money coined and issued by the order of the state. The artists attached to the Mint in the Tower, appear, on the king's accession, to have been very few. Thomas Simon was then the chief engraver, his assistants being his brother, Lawrence Simon, and Thomas East, who had been, or was then, the apprentice of Thomas Simon. With the kingly authorities it was therefore only Hobson's choice, either to reinstate Simon and his fellows as the engravers of the seals and dies in immediate demand by the officials, or place Rawlins, and other inferior or inexperienced artists, in their room. The king's restoration was effected by his triumphal entry into London, on May 29th, 1660, and in three days after, on June 2nd, Simon was appointed,

by patent, chief engraver, and ordered to proceed with all possible dispatch in the duties of his office.<sup>1</sup>

The coining of the money by means of the mill and press, which had been the enterprise of the Commonwealth authorities, in 1651, and for which purpose Peter Blondeau had been invited hither by order of the Parliament, was abandoned on consideration only of the great expense of erecting mills and engines, and other requisites attendant thereon: consequently (as with the exception of the pattern-pieces of 1656 and 1658, the productions of Simon's skill, no money had been struck by the mill in the Tower Mint), the first coinage issued in the name of Charles the Second was of the hammered sort, and in no way displayed the exquisite workmanlike qualities of effect or excellence as afforded by Simon's dies; hence we find that considerable dissatisfaction arose, and Pepys, in his Diary, Feb. 18th, 1660-61, mentions, "Walking in the gallery, at Whitehall, met with Mr. Slingsby, who shewed me the stamps of the king's new coyne, which it is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp [or die], and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them; but he says Blondeau will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world."

Blondeau was only an operative engineer, he knew

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<sup>1</sup> The list of the engravers of the Mint, in the recent republication of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, edit. 1840, Vol i. p. 45, is very incorrect: under the 12th Charles II., i. e. in 1660, Thomas Simon is named correctly, but from Snelling's manuscript list, the names of John Roettier, James Roettier, Norbier or Norbert Roettier, Philip Roettier, and Joseph Roettier, are most erroneously added as his coadjutors in the same year, when, in fact, neither John Roettier, nor his brothers Joseph and Philip, were then in England; and James Roettier, as also Norbier or Norbert Roettier, the sons of John, were not then born.



nothing of die engraving, for, in fact, the pattern pieces of 1651, designated as Blondeau's half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, were the work of Thomas Simon; the excellence in the striking, and the means of edging each piece, by an inscription or graining, were Blondeau's, apparently derived from his being the subordinate of John Varin, in the Mint of Louis XIII., at Paris. Varin, a Fleming, born at Liege, in 1604, having, after his establishment in the French Mint in 1639, established that principle there. Some difficulty appears to have fallen in the way, as Blondeau did not come hither so soon as was expected, and some little arrangement seems to have been required: perhaps Blondeau remembered the scurvy treatment he had experienced from the Mint officials on his previous sojourn in London, and from an item, charged 65*l.*, in Simon's account of claim for his services—"For my journey into France, for his Majesty's special service, I expended thirty pounds, and a month's time"—it would seem that Simon was the party sent to Paris to arrange as to his coming hither, and possibly to engage more assistance in the die-engraving department, and from his own knowledge to judge of the merit of the persons proposed. Walpole's ear-tickling story, that "the father of the Roettiers, a goldsmith and banker, assisted Charles II. with money in his exile, in return for which the king promised, if he was restored, to employ his sons, who were all engravers of seals and coins; the Restoration happened, and Charles, discontented with the inimitable Simon, who had served Cromwell and the republic, sent for Roettier's sons,"<sup>2</sup> is to be considered, *in toto*, as a mere fable, undeserving of any credit; and Folkes's

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<sup>2</sup> *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, edit. Strawberry Hill, 1763, 4to. vol. iii., p. 93.

appears to be based on as fragile a foundation:—that, John Roettier having been presented to the king abroad, as a very eminent and excellent artist in his way, came over soon after the restoration, and was, by Charles II., appointed one of the gravers of the Mint.<sup>3</sup> Certain it is, that John Roettier, a native of Antwerp, was then working in the Mint at Paris, and had for his apprentice the afterwards celebrated Karlstein,<sup>4</sup> and that he was engaged, with a certainty of employment, in the Mint in the Tower, the contract or engagement being doubtlessly effected at Paris by Simon, at the time that he was treating with Blondeau.

On the authority of a manuscript, formerly Snelling's, it has been advanced, John Roettier "would not come over without his two brothers, Joseph and Philip;" this assertion would seem to be erroneous, as regards Philip: Joseph being two years the junior of John, and Philip twelve; unless, probably, the latter was to be considered as a subordinate, or as completing his novitiate under his elder brother's tuition.

These accessions to the mint operatives appear to have been obtained late in 1661, when the preparations for coining by the mill and press were commenced. An order in council, dated January 17th, 1661-62, directed a privy-seal, "to pay Sir William Parkhurst and Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, Knts., Wardens of the Mint, 1400*l.*, by way of imprest, to be employed in erecting houses, mills, engines,

<sup>3</sup> *Table of English Silver Coins*, edit. 1745, 4to. p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Arvide Karlstein, born in Sweden, in 1644, studied under John Roettier at Paris. He died at Stockholm, in 1718, and was succeeded by the no less celebrated Hedlinger, as director and engraver of the Mint of the memorable Charles XII. Mechel, *Eloge Historique du Chev. Hedlinger*, p. x.

Nov. 3rd, 1662, and a grant for fourteen years, appointing him Engineer of the Mint in the Tower of London, for the using his *new invention* for coining gold and silver with the mill and press; and the fee of 100*l.* per ann. On the 5th of the same month, a warrant for coining the new money was issued to the officers of the Mint, but no coinage took place, possibly from a want of bullion, as on the 21st the king's pleasure-boats arrived at the Tower, from Calais, with 400,000 pistoles, the money received from Louis XIV. for the sale of Dunkirk. The king and the duke of York, on the 24th, went to the Tower, to look on this heap of foreign gold, which Pepys being desirous also of seeing, on learning the route of the king thither, followed in a coach, but was disappointed, as he relates in his Diary: "We saw none of the money, but Mr. Slingsby did shew the king the stamps [dies] of the new money, now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat, and like the king."

Another warrant respecting the new coinage was issued on Jan. 19th, 1662-63, to the officers of the Mint in the Tower, but from the books of that office it appears none of the new milled money was coined there till the 6th of February. Pepys, in his Diary, under March 9th, notices: "Dined with us to-day, Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who shewed us examples of all the new pieces, both gold and silver, made for the king, by Blondeau's way, and compared them with those made for Oliver, the pictures of the latter made by Simon, and those of the king by one Rotyr [Roettier], a German, I think, who dined with us also. He [Slingsby] extols those of Rotyr above the others, and indeed I think they are the better, because the sweeter, of the two; but upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind than the king's, but both very well worth seeing. The crowns of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for twenty-

five and thirty shillings a-piece." Pepys, with all his self-interested sycophancy, could not here withhold his impartial meed of superiority to the works of the inimitable Simon, who served a power less sweeter of the two to the personal interests of Pepys. The mention of Slingsby shews in what way the king's taste was directed: Roettier was a papist, the king more than half inclined that way, and the stern old republican Simon was too proud an object, from his distinction and merits, ever to be agreeable to the harpies and plunderers who then surrounded the throne; the opportunity was now come either to oust him from his official capacity, or to render its tenure any thing but agreeable to him. It will be seen, the splendour of the Cromwellian Protectorate presented too bright a day of sunshine for these courtly parasites.—Pepys, who with all his weaknesses had many good points, admits in his Diary, that "at dinner we talked much of Cromwell, all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crown he got to himself, as much as any man that ever got one."<sup>8</sup> If then the master called forth so warm an eulogium, it is clear, so meritorious an object as Simon was, but with principles differing from theirs, could not be well entertained by the dependants on a vicious and depraved court.

The money coined by the mill and press, was by proclamation, on March 27th, 1663, declared the currency of the realm; and Pepys, in his Diary, May 19th following, mentions his accompanying Sir John Minnes to the Tower, and "by Mr. Slingsby, and by Mr. Howard, Comptroller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money—they now coine between sixteen and twenty-four thousand pounds a week."

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<sup>8</sup> Feb. 8th, 1666-67.

The directions which had been given for making the puncheons according to Roettier's designs or models, appear to have left little for Simon to perform in the preparation of the new coinage by the mill. He was ordered, Nov. 14th, 1662, to prepare the puncheons for the money intended for Scotland; those for the silver he delivered to Charles Maitland, General of the Scottish Mint of Edinburgh, on January 20th, 1662-63; and in his statement of claim for services in the Mint, there is a charge of thirty-five pounds "for altering of the stamps [dies] for the four-pence, three-pence, two-pence, and penny, by way of the mill, wherein I and my servants wrought two months." This charge has reference to the pieces having the king's bust extending to the edge of the coin, the legend commencing on the left side, from the breast. The alteration was from those having the bust within the legend, designated the first sort; which, from their extreme scarcity, ought to be classed among the pattern-pieces of Thomas Simon.

The expedition required in the preparations for the new coinage appears to have been the only cause for Simon's participation in the money-dies, here noticed: the seals for the various offices had by this time been nearly completed, and Simon would seem to have been left without employment. In August, 1663, a commission was directed to consider about the regulation of the Mint: Evelyn, in his Diary, mentions his being one of the commissioners, and attending on the 20th and 27th of that month, in that capacity; Simon now endeavoured to vindicate his own cause by an appeal to the king's majesty—hence the memorable Competition Crown, with the petition on its rim:—"Thomas Simon most humbly prays your majesty to compare this his trial-piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed, more gracefully ordered, or more

accurately engraven, to relieve him." Of this crown, twenty are said to have been struck, and presented to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and to others whose official consequence conferred a powerful influence with the king's authority, but it was of no avail. Evelyn mentions in his Diary, March 9th, 1663-4, that he "went to the Tower, to sit in commission about regulating the Mint; and now it was, that the fine milled coin, both of white money and guineas, was established."

Evelyn's mention of this fact gives rise to the conjecture that this was the last sitting of the committee, and Simon's claim, if at all discussed, was here disposed of. In Evelyn, Simon had no friend; he who looked on Milton as being infected with anarchical principles, and a disgrace to his country, could have little respect for Simon, who, if he did not receive an abrupt dismissal, was suffered to linger on in official indolence, having subsequently engraved a few seals only for foreign letters and dispatches, for Mr. Secretary Bennet, afterwards created Lord Arlington. At Midsummer, 1665, he appears to have retired, made up his claim for services till April in that year, and left the course free to the Roettiers; and though Simon is supposed to have died of the plague soon after, the writer has some reason to believe that Simon relinquished altogether his avocation of die engraving on quitting the Mint, and retired to the neighbourhood of Kippax in Yorkshire, and was living there several years after the supposed date of his decease, disgusted at the treatment he had so uncourteously experienced.

John Roettier, who by Simon's retirement had become the chief engraver of his Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London, appears to have been a married man previous to his coming to England. His son, John, was possibly born

at Paris in 1661; his second son, born at London in 1663, was perhaps named James in compliment to the Duke of York; and his third son, Norbert, was born in 1665, at Antwerp, whither his wife, during the plague, had gone—Antwerp being the father's native place, and where, possibly, some of his family remained located.

By many it has been supposed the superb medal designated the "*FELICITAS BRITANNIA*," from the exergue on the reverse, was the work of John Roettier, now under notice; as such it is considered his *chef-d'œuvre*, and being in high estimation, has produced at sales large sums;<sup>9</sup> but this is erroneous, the head, as stated by the family, was the work of his brother Joseph, afterwards the chief engraver in the French Mint at Paris. The medal, although having reference to the period of the restoration, was more than probably the produce of the leisure of the year 1665 or 1666; in the former no money having been coined, and in the latter the dies engraved only for some silver, brought in by, and coined for, the Royal African Company, with an elephant below the king's bust.

Pepys, in his Diary, March 26th, 1666, mentions Lord Brouncker and he going "to the Tower to see the famous engraver [Roettier], to get him to grave a seal for the [Admiralty] office, and did see some of the finest pieces of work, in embossed work, that ever I did see in my life, for fineness and smallness of the images thereon." Roettier, at his leisure, as in our day Signor Pistrucci has done, was astounding the groundlings with the minuteness of his labours; and in his Diary, February 25th, 1666-67, Pepys

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<sup>9</sup> Mr. Trattle purchased his specimen of this medal at George Keate, the poet's, sale, in 1801, for eighteen guineas: and Mr. Tyssen's, in April 1802, sold for twenty guineas.

again expresses his surprise at these minute wonderments:—"at my goldsmith's did observe the king's new medall, where in little, there is Mrs. Stewart's face,<sup>10</sup> as well done as ever I saw any in my whole life, I think; and a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by." The medal alluded to, by Pepys, is that having on the reverse a shield with Britannia on it, on an altar, supported by Pallas; behind are Hercules, Prudence, Peace and Mercury; Abundance, an incumbent figure, in the fore-ground. The legend, NVLLVM NVMEN

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<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Stewart, afterwards Duchess of Richmond, was the mistress, at this period, of Charles the Second, and supplanted, for a time, his kingly adoration at the shrine of Barbara, Lady Castlemaine. Evelyn, many years after, in his *Numismata: a Discourse of Medals*, printed in 1697, folio, p. 27, speaking of the skill of the Roman die engravers in the representation of certain Deities and Empresses, observes, "but such indeed are hardly to be distinguished by their effigies; and yet has Monsieur Roti [er], graver to his late Majesty Charles the Second, so minutely expressed the countenance of the Duchess of Richmond in the head of Britannia, in the reverse of some of our coin, and especially in a medal, as one may easily, and almost at first sight, know it to be her Grace." He adds: "And though in smallest copper, both for the persons represented and performance of the artist, such as may justly stand in competition with the antient masters, to name only those which he has made medalions, gold and silver, of the largest volume." Evelyn is decidedly in error in ascribing the figure of Britannia on our coin to any semblance of that of the meretricious Mrs. Stewart, who had attracted no notice for her demerits, notwithstanding her acknowledged beauty, until the date of her *liaison* with England's merry monarch, in April 1666. The pattern Quatuor Maria Vindico Farthings, with Britannia on the reverse, both varieties, were of the previous year; but Evelyn idolised the connections of Royalty, and was, when he published his *Numismata*, something too old to remember the minuteness of detail, but that such things were spoken of in his day, and were wont to be as agreeable to his ear as music's soft strains wafted by the evening breeze.



ABEST.—*No deity is wanting.* In the exergue, BRITANNIA.<sup>11</sup>

By a warrant dated March 6th, 1666-7, Roettier was directed to make a new Great Seal, the charges for which amounted to 246*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*; one of the items was "for breaking the old Great Seale, 5*s.*"<sup>12</sup>

The five-pound pieces, in gold brought from Guinea, struck from Roettier's dies for the Royal African Company, were first issued September 21st, 1668.

By letters patent, dated July 3rd, 1669, John, Joseph, and Philip Roettier were appointed his Majesty's engravers at the Mint, with the yearly allowance of 450*l.* per annum, during their natural lives. This is the first mention of Philip, the youngest of the three Roettiers.

Tickets for the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, and the

<sup>11</sup> Evelyn's *Numismata*, p. 134. Pinkerton's *Medallic History*, pl. xxvii. No. 3.

<sup>12</sup> The old Great Seale, as it is here termed, was the work of Thomas Simon, who, on the restoration in 1660, engraved one which is given in Vertue's "Medals, Coins, Great Seals, &c. of Thomas Simon," pl. xxviii. By a warrant dated December 2nd, 1662, Simon was directed to prepare a Great Seal according to the draughts engraved in Gough's edition of Vertue, 1780, plates xxxix and xl. The charge for the last occurs in Simon's Statement of Claims, at 229*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, but none for the former, which creates some difficulty how it was possible two great seals should have been engraved in the short space of two years. The old great seal, mentioned to have been broken, would seem to have been that engraved only four years before.

Roettier's accompt for engraving the great seal of 1667, is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 199, and but for the assurance of the editor that the document has been literally followed, there appears on the face of it apparently more than one error; it is spoken of as "a Great Seale for his *late* Majesty," and the accompt, with more probability, dated in 1671-2, and not 1677, as Joseph Roettier's name is included as one of the claimants, and it has been shewn he became chief engraver of the Royal Mint at Paris, in 1672.

Duke's Theatre, in Dorset Garden, were struck in 1671, from dies by the Roettiers; those of the Theatre Royal in copper, and of the Duke's in brass.

Early in 1672, John Roettier, Joseph Roettier, and Philip Roettier, his Majesty's engravers at the Mint, petitioned the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for 1012*l.* 10*s.*, the arrears of salaries due to them, as appeared by the certificate of the Hon. Sir Robert Howard, annexed. The petition, in the writer's possession, states—“Your petitioners being in great want of money, both for defraying the constant and dayly charges of the Mint, and the maintaining of their families with bread, and having so great an encrease of wages due to them, and nothing to maintain themselves but their salary, most humbly pray your Lordships to order the payment of the said money, without which, they and their families must perish.”

John Varin, the chief engraver at the French king's Mint, at Paris, died there, August 26th, 1672, and Joseph Roettier, by Colbert's influence, obtained the appointment. He left England, and in that year struck a fine medal, in the Paris Mint, on Louis the Fourteenth's restoration of the Military Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem. A small roman *κ*, below the bust of the king on the obverse, will possibly be the criterion by which the medals in the English series may be appropriated to him. Joseph Roettier also struck a medal, of no ordinary talent, in commemoration of his patron Colbert being created, in the same year, Prime Minister of France; the small roman *κ* is below the shoulder. Colbert, the greatest statesman France ever gave birth to, was descended from a Scottish family—the Cuthberts, who settled at Rheims, in Champagne. He made a triumphal entry into London, on August 7th, 1668, as Ambassador from France. The Roettiers had probably

rendered him some services during his residence here at that period, and paved the way for Joseph Roettier's advancement to the post which Varin had previously so ably filled.

Evelyn, in his Diary, July 20th, 1678, mentions his going to the Tower, where he "saw Mons. Rotiere, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the ancients in both metal and stone. He was now moulding a horse for the king's statue, to be cast in silver of a yard high." The house of Commons, January 30th, 1677-8, had voted seventy thousand pounds for solemnising the funeral of King Charles the First, and erecting a monument to his memory. Le Sœur's fine equestrian statue in bronze, originally cast, in 1633, for the decoration of the space before the Church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, was, in 1678, erected on its pedestal at Charing Cross, the cost being defrayed by part of the parliamentary grant. Roettier's model would, therefore, seem to have been only an emulative attempt at the excellence of the original, no silver cast from his model being known. Philip Roettier had apparently left England for Flanders at this period; it is, however, certain that he quitted the English Mint in 1678, and from the specimens of his skill, known by his initials, was greatly inferior as an artist to his elder brothers.

A petition, in the writer's possession, of "John Roettier, his Majesty's engraver at the Tower," addressed to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, states—"there was due to your petitioner the sum of 400*l.*, for engraving two broad seales, whereof your Lordships were pleased to order him the summe of 200*l.*, part of the 400*l.*, some short time before your Lordships' last adjournment, with hopes of the suddaine payment of the

other 200*l.*," therefore prays "an order for the payment of the 200*l.*, being in great want and necessity to maintain his family, and put to hard difficulties and shifts for procuring money, being a stranger here in England."

The petition appears to have failed of effect, as the writer has also a letter, addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Rochester, which refers to the same claim:—

MY LORD,—Necessity forceth me againe to trouble your Lordship, begging your Lordship's order and directions for the 200*l.* in full, of the 400*l.* for making the two great seales, before your Lordships' adjournment, which I heare will be speedily, otherwise we shall be ruined, being put to great straights for monyes for maintaining my family, and paying the workemen att the Mint. This favour and good worke, I hope your Lordships will doe, and me, and mine, shall be ever bound to pray for your Lordship.

I am,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

27th August, 1684.

JO. ROETTIER.

Roettier this year engraved the dies for the copper tickets, for the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, having, on the obverse, the heads of Charles II., and Queen Catharine.

On the accession of James the Second, the die-engravers appear to have been John Roettier and Henry Harris, the the latter appointed in 1680, 32 Charles II ;<sup>13</sup> Joseph and

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<sup>13</sup> Snelling's list, quoted in Ruding's *Annals*, edit. 1840, vol. i. p. 45, where no mention is made of the engravers, under the head of James the Second. Walpole very ridiculously confounds this Henry Harris with Harris the player at the Theatre Royal, whose name was Joseph. *Anecdotes of Painting*, &c., Strawberry Hill, 1763, 4to., vol. iii., p. 95.

Philip Roettier having both quitted the Mint. Roettier engraved the Coronation Medal, in April 1685, and below the bust, in script characters, is J. R. conjoined. This appears to have been the mark of the elder Roettier, who, although he engraved the dies for the medal, seems to have done little else, as Thomas East, the pupil of Thomas Simon, was engraver of the seals during this reign.<sup>14</sup> Considerable confusion seems to have been created in the conduct of the Mint, and a *scire facias* being directed by the king against Henry Slingsby, master and worker of the Mint, for non-fulfilment of duty, the surrender of his patent was enrolled in the Court of Chancery, April 20th, 1686. The year 1686 is the most common of all the pieces coined by James II. : in the dies of 1687 and 1688, in the smaller pieces particularly, the latter numerals are punched on the 6, so that the same dies served for the coinage of three years, a fact which may be advanced as a proof of the indolence of the die-engravers, or rather of Roettier, for he managed that Harris should have little or no interference in the business of the Mint.

Slingsby's necessities, after his ejection from the Mint, appear to have induced the proffer, on sale, of his collection of the Roettier Medals to Pepys, at the original cost prices. The autograph letter is extant in the Bodleian Library, Oxford:—

Oct. 11th, 1687.

SIR,—You being my ancient friend and good acquaintance, I cannot doe less than offer to put into your hands a general collection of all the Medalls made by Roettiers, of

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<sup>14</sup> East was succeeded by his nephew, John Roos, who continued in that office till the accession of King George the First.

which I had an opportunity to chuse the best struck off; and I am sure so full a collection no man in England has beside myself, which you shall have at the same rate I paid. When Roettier happens to die, they may be worth five or ten pounds more, and yet are not to be had, many of the stamps [dies] being broke and spoiled. I have sent you the list to peruse, which if you approve of, I shall much rejoice at; if not, pray return the list, for I have several friends will be glad to have them of

Sir, your very affectionate Friend,  
and humble Servant,  
H. SLINGESBY.

If you desire any off the king and queen's coronation medals, I have six of them I can spare at six shillings each.

LIST OF MONS. ROTIERS MEDALS, WITH CASES.<sup>15</sup>

	£	s.
*Great Britannia—FELICITAS BRITANNIÆ . . . .	4	10
*Duke of York—NEC MINOR IN TERRIS . . . .	3	14
*Late King's, for the Hospital—INSTITUTOR AUG. . .	3	2
*Compte de Montrée, Belgicæ et Burgundiæ Gubernator	3	2
*New Britannia—NULLUM NUMEN ABEST . . . .	2	3
*Duke of York—GENUS ANTIQUM . . . .	2	3
*Duke of Lauderdale—CONSILIO ET ANIMIS . . . .	2	0
*The King, for the Fire Ships—PRO TALIBUS AUSIS .	1	19
*The King—RELIGIONIS REFORMATÆ PROTECTORI .	1	17
*Col. Stranguiches—DECUSQUE ETC. . . .	1	17
Bp. of Canterbury [Laud]—SANCTI CAROLI PRÆCURSOR	1	15
The King, for Bruges—REDEANT COMMERCII FLANDRIS	1	9
*First Britannia—FAVENTE DEO . . . .	1	9
The King, for the Fire Ships—PRO TALIBUS AUSIS .	1	8
The King's new Invention for Fortifications . . .	1	7
[Qu. That engraved in Pinkerton, Pl. xxxii. No. 8.]		
The King, rev. Arms . . . .	1	14

<sup>15</sup> Of those marked with an asterisk, the dies were retained by the Roettier family, and became, by purchase, the property of the late Matthew Young.

	£	s.
The King, <i>rev.</i> the Queen . . . . .	0	18
King of Spain—FLANDRIÆ OSTENDÆ . . . . .	0	18
Q. Dowager and S. Katharine—PIETATE INSIGNIS <sup>16</sup> . . . . .	0	18
King of Sweden's Inauguration, May 29, 1671 . . . . .	0	18
*King and Queen—DIFFUSUS IN ORBE BRITANNUS . . . . .	0	16
The little one—King on one side, the Queen on the other . . . . .	0	10
Sir Samuel Morland . . . . .	0	10

Old Roettier, after the abdication of king James II., appears to have remained at his ease; he retained possession of his house in the Tower,<sup>17</sup> and seemed to care little as to the result of the political strife of that day. He was still in the receipt of his salary by patent, and in the confirmation and grant of the appointment of Master and Worker of the Mint, to Thomas Neale, the successor of Henry Slingsby, dated April 2nd, 1689, 1 Will. and Mary, there is mentioned among the salaries to the officers: "To the three Roettiers, chief engravers, 325*l*;"<sup>18</sup> *i.e.* to John, Jo-

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<sup>16</sup> The obverse of this medal was used in the first instance as the reverse of another, preceding it by two in this list. A medal allusive to her religious disposition must have been highly complimentary. Pepys, in his Diary, Nov. 25, 1666, records—"This being St. Katharine's day, the Queen was at mass by seven o'clock this morning, and Mr. Ashburnham do say, that he never saw any one have so much zeal in his life as she hath; and (the question being asked by my Lady Carteret) much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queen mother had."

<sup>17</sup> Lord Lucas, then Governor of the Tower, hated Roettier most heartily as being a papist; and Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, on his being committed to that fortress for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, mentions, in his Diary, Lord Lucas' visit to him, on "Saturday, Aug. 9th, 1690, I asked him to have Roettier the graver come to me. He said Mr. Dod should come with him, at any time, but he must not be alone with me, because he was a papist. Very pleasant!"

<sup>18</sup> In the recent republication of Ruding, vol. i. p. 45, the Lansdowne Manuscript, No. 246, is referred to as the authority for mentioning the "three Roettiers" as the engravers in the Mint in 1689; but the reference is erroneous. The Lansdowne Manu-

seph, and Philip Roettier, though both the latter were residing abroad. Vertue thought that Norbert Roettier was the engraver of William and Mary's coronation medal; in this, however, he was mistaken, George Bower was employed to assist Henry Harris in the engraving of the new dies, and it was the former who engraved those of the coronation medal. Roettier's eldest son, John, seems to have followed some other occupation than that of an artist; and neither James nor Norbert had any employment in the Mint, till, on the death of George Bower, in 1690, James Roettier obtained his place. Norbert aimed at employment by producing various pattern-pieces for half-pence and farthings of king William and Mary, but the designs were miserably poor, and merely repetitions of the devices which had been promulgated, on the jettons struck from the dies engraved by his uncle Philip.

The copper coinage of 1694 was granted by letters patent to Sir Joseph Herne, Knt., and others, the Roettiers having nothing whatever to do with it; yet we find at a subsequent period an assertion boldly made, and which has passed in vulgar currency to this day. A writer has stated "a little after the revolution, when king William began to coin money, Roettier, who had coined for king Charles and king James, being an excellent workman, was kept still in the Mint; but the fellow, being a Jacobite, made king William's half-pennies so that the back part of the head represented a satyr's face with horns, alluding to a secret calumny

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script, No. 250, supplies the notice of the three Roettiers as chief engravers; but this was a connivance, in which Neale was implicated, to give James and Norbert, the sons of John Roettier, an apparent authority for such appointments. The amount, 325*l.* there stated, was the pay received by the elder Roettier, though he performed none of the duties.



of his enemies. Upon this Roettier was turned out, went into France, and was taken into the French Mint, where his son continued to coin when I was in France.”<sup>19</sup> Walpole, who was always wonderfully taken with the marvellous, adopted this story from hearsay, and observes, in allusion to Norbert’s patterns: “On the proofs were the king’s and queen’s heads on different sides, with a rose, a ship, etc.; but in 1694, it was resolved the heads should be coupled, and Britannia on the reverse. Hence arose new matter of complaint—some penetrating eyes thought they discovered a satyr’s head couched on the king’s. This made much noise, and gave rise to a report that king James was in England, and lay concealed in Roettier’s house in the Tower. Norbert, on these dissatisfactions, left England, and retiring into France, where he had been educated in the Academy, was received and employed by Louis XIV., where, whatever had been his inclinations here, he certainly made several medals of the young chevalier.”<sup>20</sup>

Norbert did not quit England so early as Walpole supposed. James and Norbert Roettier advertised in the *London Gazette*, Feb. 18th, 1694-5, a large funeral medal, to preserve the memory of her late majesty queen Mary, on the obverse her head, and on the reverse the inscription, *SUBLATAM EX OCULIS*, etc. In copper, price 5s. Engraved and coined by James and Norbertus Roettier, at the Mint in the Tower of London. On April 22nd, following, the

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<sup>19</sup> *Daily Gazetteer*, June 13th, 1737.—This was in truth a vamped up story, quite consonant with the then prevalent belief that on the first halfpence of George II., struck in 1729, the right knee and thigh, from the accidental fold of the drapery, on the reverse, was a satirical design of the die-engraver to represent an Hanoverian rat gnawing into the bowels of Britannia.

<sup>20</sup> *Anecdotes of Painting*, Strawberry Hill, 1763, vol. iii. p. 95.

brothers advertised in the same paper, a copper medal of king Charles I.,<sup>21</sup> having on the reverse a hand from the clouds, holding forth a crown of martyrdom; the legend—*VIRTUTEM EX ME FORTUNAM EX ALIIS*. Price 10s. gilded; 5s. plain copper; if bespoke in silver, price about 25s. This, like the queen's funeral medal, was announced as being engraved and coined at the Mint in the Tower of London.

The elder Roettier appears to have been, at this period, suspected of treasonable practices, and Capt. Matthew Smith,<sup>22</sup> about the 10th of Jan. 1695-6, made a disclosure to Mr. Secretary Vernon, that Major George Holmes was commissioned to obtain from Roettier the dies of king Charles and king James, then in the Tower, to be forwarded to France, for king James to coin money for the payment of the forces with which he purposed to effect a landing in England; and although no particular notice of this information was taken at the time, it is certain that many dies were allowed to be taken from the Tower, and were used by various fraudulent coiners both in town and country; till about a year after, when one of them, named Thomas White, who had been apprenticed to a working goldsmith and watchmaker in Dublin, was detected as a coiner, and as such capitally condemned, when he made such disclosures as instantly caused a parliamentary committee to be constituted, for enquiry into the facts of the abstraction of the dies,

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<sup>21</sup> No little discrimination was exhibited in the design of this medal, the bust of the King is the side-faced portrait, in Vandyck's celebrated picture, forwarded to the sculptor Bernini at Rome, to execute a marble bust; and which has since been rendered familiar to most persons of taste, by the beautiful line engraving by William Sharp.

<sup>22</sup> *Memoirs of Secret Service*, 1699, 8vo, p. 89.

White having publicly declared he could have dies from Roettier when he pleased. Norbert, fearing the results of this enquiry, fled to France. And it appeared that one James Hunter, employed in the Mint in the Tower, and another labourer, named Scotch Robin, were the persons who used to carry out the dies, and all the implements of coining which were ostensibly in the keeping of Roettier. They were carried to a gang of coiners in the Fleet prison, who were supplied with gilded copper blanks by a watch-gilder living close to St. Sepulchre, and the same struck from the guinea dies of James II.<sup>23</sup>

The examination of White took place Jan. 13th, 1696-7, and the Committee was appointed on the following day. On the 27th of the same month, Dr. Newton, warden of the Mint, in an enquiry then before the House, stated the particulars of a further examination of White in Newgate, and had learned that Hunter, Russell, and Chapman, were at work, coining in the country, with several dies which Hunter, being a servant in the Tower, had stolen from thence. That White and Stroud had wrought together, and coined copper guineas in the Fleet prison.<sup>24</sup>

On Feb. 2nd, Mr. Arnold reported from the Committee appointed to examine what dies had been got out of the Tower, and by what means, and to enquire into the miscarriages of the Patent-officers of the Mint—

“That they having examined some officers in the Mint in the Tower, in relation to the dies which had been clandestinely delivered out of the Tower, by some persons concerned in the coinage, do find, by the evidence of Capt. Harris and

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<sup>23</sup> Silver gilded blanks appear to have been occasionally used ; one of this description, from the guinea dies of 1685, is in the writer's possession, milled on the edge, as if a genuine piece.

<sup>24</sup> *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi. p. 678.

the warden of the Mint—That several pieces of new crowns and half-crowns have been counterfeited lately, which they are positive are done with the dies that are in the Tower.

“And that it appeared to the Committee—That Mr. Roettier, who cuts the dies, and has the keeping thereof, and of the great press; and though Capt. Harris be the patent officer, and ought to have the inspection of the dies, yet that the said Roettier would never suffer him to come into the house where the press and dies were kept; and

“That one Daniel Ware made a press for one White, who lies now under sentence of condemnation: and that White did tell him, he could have dies from Roettier when he pleased.

“And that the Committee do conceive it is too great a trust, and may be of dangerous consequence, for the said Roettier to have the custody of the dies, he being a Roman Catholic, and keeping an Irish Papist in his house, and having the custody of the said dies, it lies in his power to let them out when he pleases, or to coin false money in the Tower.

“That the Lord Lucas has complained—That the Tower is not safe, while so many Papists are entertained in Roettier’s house.

“And that it appears—That the said Roettier is a very dangerous person; and that the master of the Mint, the warden of the Mint, and the engraver, all declared the coinage might be carried on without the assistance of Roettier.

“And that the Committee had directed the house should be moved—That they would give directions for securing the dies and punchions in the Tower.

“Ordered—That all the punchions, dies, presses, and

other things belonging to his Majesty's Mint, in the hands of Mr. Roettier, in the Tower, be immediately seized by the officers of the Mint.

"Ordered—That the said Committee do also inquire into the miscarriages of the Mints in the country."

On April 8th, the Committee made a further report, and rendered the following as the results of their enquiries:—

"That one Hunter, who was a servant to the moneyers, conveyed away several of the Mint-dies, that it appeared either a connivance, or a great neglect, in [Roettier] the person entrusted with the dies, and that both the said Hunter, and one named Scotch Robin, who was also concerned in the same fact, have sheltered themselves in the Mint in Scotland.

"That 325*l.* per annum salary was allowed for the master-graver, his assistant-clerks, servants, and workmen. That old Roettier and his *three* sons were brought over by Charles II., and the said 325*l.* allowed to the father, with the addition of 450*l.* per annum, by patent, under the great seal, to the three sons—viz., 150*l.* each for their several lives, which have been constantly paid him that remained here, notwithstanding one of them went several years since into Flanders; and the other fled to France, where he is now in the French king's service.

"Thomas Neale, Esq., a member of this honourable house, and master-worker of his Majesty's Mint, produced Articles of the Agreement made betwixt him and the younger of the Roettiers to pay him, the said Roettier, over and above the said 325*l.* per annum and 450*l.* annuity, the further sum of 800*l.* yearly, though it appeared to the Committee, at the same time, that Henry Harris, Esq., was sworn into the office of graver to his Majesty's Mint, and hath a patent for the same; and that the said Roettiers are

not only violent Papists, and refuse to take the oaths, or to subscribe the Association, as by law they ought to do, yet they still continue in the house belonging to his Majesty's chief graver, and have received the said three salaries, over and above what they have received from France ; for it appeared to the Committee by two letters out of France, written by Daniel Arthur, who is outlawed for high treason, and directed to the said Roettier, with two several bills of exchange from France, even since the Act of Parliament that makes it capital to hold correspondence with France, which letters were taken in the house of one Connigs, a merchant, amongst several other very treasonable papers and correspondences.

“ And it further appeared to the Committee, by the evidence of Mr. Aaron Smith, that he hath seen another letter from the said Daniel Arthur to the said John Roettier, wherein he mentioned the stipend or salary from the French king to the said Roettier.

“ And it appeared to the Committee, by the information of several witnesses, as Mr. Brown, Mr. Fox, Mrs. Pigeon, and others, that John Roettier, the younger, was in the company of Rookwood and Bernardo, the assassins, when they were apprehended, and was himself suspected to be in that conspiracy, having at that time provided himself of horses and arms, at his own house in Essex, where he entertained very ill company, to the great terror of the neighbourhood ; that there hath been messengers sent out, and a warrant of high treason, against him, by the Honourable the Lord Lucas, but he is fled from justice.

“ The Committee do observe that old Roettier is still continued in the graver's house, in the Tower, though he will not, nor did ever, own the king, or do any one thing, as a graver, since the Revolution ; and that the Governor of

the Tower hath declared to some members of this Committee, he is a dangerous person to be in the Tower, and that he would remove him if he could.

“Resolved—That it is the opinion of this Committee, no officer of the Mint ought to have or enjoy any place in the same for life.

“Resolved—That the house be moved, that an humble Address be made to his Majesty, that no grant or patent do pass for life, but *quam diu se bene gesserit*.”<sup>25</sup>

It is difficult to reconcile some apparent inconsistencies in this report, though rendered to the highest authorities. Roettier had not three sons till some years after his establishment in the Mint, and the only persons officially employed by Charles II., were the three brothers, John, Joseph, and Philip Roettier, whose salary was to be 150*l.* each, per annum. From this report, however, it appears the elder Roettier had a distinct salary of 325*l.* for special services, and that 150*l.* per annum for the three brothers, John, Joseph, and Philip, was in fact received by John for the use of those abroad. It was Philip, who in or about 1678 went to Flanders, and entered into the king of Spain's service as moneyer there; but the reference to the other who fled to France, can have allusion only to John or Norbert Roettier, the sons of Simon's competitor.

Neale's agreement with the younger of the Roettiers, would seem to imply some arrangements with James Roettier, the son of John, who was then by authority employed in the Mint.

What coercive measures, if any, were directed against Roettier do not appear on record; it is stated, that lord Lucas, by placing a guard about his house in the Tower,

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<sup>25</sup> *Commons' Journals*, vol. xi., pp. 775-777.

to prevent a treasonable correspondence, rendered him so uneasy, that labouring under the inquietude and infirmities of old age, and grievously afflicted with the stone and gravel, he quitted the Tower, and, being rich, took up his residence in Red Lion Square.

James Roettier, his son, whose appointment as engraver in the Mint, upon Bower's decease, has been noticed, received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and retiring to Bromley for the air, took cold and died there in 1698.

Norbert Roettier, the younger son, on his escape to France, appears from the committee report to have obtained employment at the Mint at Paris, as doubtless he would, his uncle, Joseph Roettier, being then the chief engraver; and we find, by the several medals and jettons engraved by him for the Stuart family, that he was employed by them from 1697 to 1712,<sup>26</sup> when Otto Hameranus appears to have been taken into their service.

John Roettier, according to Walpole's account, survived till 1703, when he died and was buried in the Tower: his brother Joseph also died at Paris in the same year; hence it is accounted for, why the dies, the property of John Roettier, should have become the property of Norbert Roettier, and were sent to him at Paris; he having become, in his uncle's stead, Engraver General of the Monies of France. Norbert appears not to have married till after this period, for James, his only son, was born at St. Germain en Laye, in 1707, his other children being two daughters, who surviving the rest of the family till a recent period, were

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<sup>26</sup> In the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 125-132, Mr. Haggard has supplied some interesting *notitia* of these medals, but by some oversight, has ascribed the initials not to *Norbert* but *Nicholas* Roettier.



the two old ladies, upon whose demise, the family interest in the Roettier dies having ceased, they became a vendable property, were purchased as a speculation by a person named Cox, who brought them to England, and eventually disposed of them to the late Mr. Matthew Young. By him they were placed in the hands of Mr. A. J. Stothard, who prepared them for a re-issue; a number from each were struck, and the dies, as the writer has been informed, were then by a process softened, a punch driven into each, to deface them, and are now deposited in the collections of the British Museum.

Norbert Roettier died at Paris, in May 1727, and was succeeded in his office as Graveur General des Monnoies de France, by his cousin Charles Joseph Roettier, the son of Joseph Roettier, an event which Hedlinger has commemorated in a beautiful medal, as a complimentary memento of their friendship. James, the son of Norbert, came to England sometime in or about 1730, accompanied by his cousin James, whose father subsequently succeeded the younger Philip, as engraver of the King of Spain's Mint in the Low Countries. The object of Norbert's son was to obtain leave to strike medals from the dies engraved by his grandfather, John Roettier. The particulars are somewhat clearly detailed in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 57. On his return to Paris he married the daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Launay, the French king's goldsmith,<sup>27</sup> and succeeded to the office and emolu-

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<sup>27</sup> Mechel, in his *Eloge Historique du Chev. Hedlinger*, p. ix. note, mentions this Nicholas de Launay; that he was born at Paris in 1647, and died in 1727. There is evidently some error here, because in the text Launay is there said to have entrusted Hedlinger with the commission to commemorate the birth of the infant son of Louis XV., born September 4th, 1729; by a superb

ments of his deceased father-in-law. Snelling, whose information was derived sometime between 1765 and 1770,<sup>28</sup> supplies a list of the Roettier dies then in his possession,<sup>29</sup> and mentions that he then had "a son in partnership with him, who was a good sculptor, and had made a bust of the king his master, Louis XV., and another," as Snelling had been informed, "of his prime minister, the Duke de Choiseul."<sup>30</sup>

Walpole says the particulars of the Roettiers he records, Vertue received in 1745, "from the surviving sisters of Norbert Roettier. Their mother, who had a portrait of her husband John, which the daughters sent for, died in Flanders sometime about 1720." This statement is wholly erroneous: Norbert Roettier had no sisters: the females alluded to were his daughters, who appear to have resided sometime in England. One of them was afflicted with a severe fit of the stone, and the Birch MS. in Museo, No. 4436, art. 310, contains the particulars of her case, and her sufferings under that malady, from October 1739 to March 1740. She is described to have been then about twenty-five years of age; and the manuscript is in the autograph of Dr. Cantwell, who attended her. Their mother was therefore the wife of Norbert Roettier, and was possibly a Flemish or a Dutch woman, who being ill, might

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medal, engraved in Hedlinger's Works, pl. xxxviii. No. 2; and for which the king presented the artist with a gold snuff-box.

<sup>28</sup> Bindley's transcript of Snelling's Paper had interpolations inserted by him, which is proved by the fact of his description of the Medal of Locke, with the date 1774. Snelling died in 1773. The dates, as connected with Joseph Roettier, p. 58, are all manifestly wrong. Varin died in 1672, Joseph went to Paris immediately after, and in fact, in the same year; and Colbert did not die till 1683.

<sup>29</sup> Numismatic Chron. Vol. III. pp. 59, 60.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

have returned to the place of her birth and died there seven years before the decease of her husband.

The son of Charles Joseph seems to have distinguished himself on his medals as "Roettier the Younger." A medal of *LYDOVICVS XV., PIVS MVNIFICVS*, has below the bust—*R. FILIVS*, and on the rev. *S. SULPITII AREA, 1754—ROETTIERS FILIVS*.

A six livre piece of the Paris Mint, dated 1771, has a stork resting on its left leg, as the engraver's or Mint mark—the words *ROERT. FIL.* below the drapery on the shoulder.

The annexed genealogy of the Roettier family, somewhat hastily drawn up at the request of a respected member of the Numismatic Society, will shew more clearly, and at a glance, the diverging of its various branches.

J. H. BURN.

## VOL. III.



## XXVI.

ON A NEW METHOD OF OBTAINING  
REPRESENTATIONS OF COINS.

THE five coins represented on the opposite page have no connexion with each other; but have been selected as specimens for the purpose of illustrating a new method by which representations of coins may be obtained. The novelty mainly consists in the following circumstance—namely, that by means of a slight mechanical process, to be immediately described, the coins are made to print these impressions of themselves—a cast being obtained from the coin, which serves the purpose of a stereotype block. It is obvious that by this method, the utmost fidelity to the original is ensured; and by a process at once cheap and expeditious, the means of producing an interesting representation of a coin is obtained; but the application of the process is necessarily limited, it being an indispensable condition to its success, that the coin to be represented should be in extremely low relief.

The class of coins to which, for an obvious reason, this method seems most applicable, is the Saxon series; as a paper which appeared in a preceding number (p. 19) may have sufficiently testified by the illustrations which it contained. The English coinage is in a great measure susceptible of representation by the same method; and of this a few specimens are here given. The following description of the coins contained in the plate may not be unacceptable.

- 1.—SILVER PENNY OF ETHELRED. *Obv.*—Head of Ethelred.  
*Ethelræd rex Anglor.*

*Rev.*—A hand between A. and W. *Beorhnoth mo. Winto.* From which it appears that this coin was struck at Winchester; Beorhnoth being the moneyer.

2.—GOLD PENNY OF HENRY III. *Obv.*—The king seated on a throne, holding the sceptre and orb. *Henric. rex III.*

*Rev.*—A cross botone voided, extending to the edge of the coin; in each quarter, a rose between three fillets. *Willem on Lunde.*

Of this coin only three specimens are known to be in existence.

3.—HALF FLORIN OF EDWARD III. *Obv.*—A lion sejant, crowned with a banner, charged with the arms of France and England, quartering, fastened to his neck and flowing over his shoulder. *Edwar. D. Gra. rex Angl. et Franc. Dno. Hyb.*

*Rev.*—A cross, having at each end and in the centre an open quatrefoil; the whole within a quatrefoil, a lion in each spandril. *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me.*

Only two specimens of this coin are known, and until very lately, the specimen under consideration was presumed to be unique.

4.—NOBLE OF EDWARD III. *Obv.*—The king standing in a ship, with a sword in his right hand, and a shield bearing the arms of France and England, quarterly, in his left. *Edwar. D. Gra. Rex Angl. et Franc. Dns. Hyb.*

*Rev.*—Within a compartment of double moulding of eight arches, an ornamental cross, having in the centre the letter L., each limb of the cross terminating in a fleur de lis. A lion passant guardant under a crown in each quarter. *Ihs transiens per medium illorum, ibat.*

Only two specimens of this variety of Edward III.'s noble are known to be in existence. It was struck in his eighteenth year.

The singular scripture text inscribed on the reverse has been the subject of considerable discussion; but the most natural way of accounting for it, is to suppose that it was

adopted with reference to the great naval victory obtained by Edward over the French, in commemoration of which this coin was struck.

- 5.—CROWN OF CHARLES II. This is the celebrated trial piece engraved by Simon; inscribed round the edge with the touching petition which that neglected artist addressed to the giddy monarch.

THOMAS SIMON . MOST . HUMBLY . PRAYS . YOUR . *Majesty*  
 TO . COMPARE . THIS . HIS . TRYALL . PIECE . WITH . THE . DVTCH . AND . IF  
 MORE . TRVLY . DRAWN . & . EMBOSS'D . MORE . GRACE-FVLLY . ORDERED . AND  
 MORE . ACCVRATELY . ENGRAVEN . TO . RELIEVE . HIM .

The process by which the annexed impressions are obtained, may seem unnecessarily protracted; but the reader is assured that such is by no means the case. A cast from the coin is made in plaster, from which cast a sulphur cast is formed. A second cast in sulphur is made from this; from which a second in plaster is made. Finally, an impression is obtained in type metal from the plaster cast last mentioned, and this serves as a species of stereotype block, from which representations of coins may be struck off. The merit of this ingenious invention is due to Mr. John Doubleday; by whom the blocks here used were fabricated.

It only remains to state, that the originals of these coins are to be found in the British Museum. They were obligingly communicated by my friend Edward Hawkins, Esq., to whom I am also indebted for the few particulars concerning them here offered.

J. W. B.

*Brunswick Square, Dec. 19, 1840.*

## MISCELLANEA.

ORIENTAL COINS FOR SALE.—Extract of a letter addressed to Dr. Lee, from Dr. Bernhard Dorn, dated St. Petersburg, 27th August.

8th September, 1840.

"I also beg to present to you a list of Oriental Coins or Medals to be sold by the Academy of Sciences, which list you may communicate to whomsoever you like. The collections all consist of Samanide and Tatar medals of the golden horde, which are very scarce in all the other countries besides Russia. The different collections are composed of the same medals, only some are less complete, and were made up from the Persian contribution money, paid to Russia after the last war. The collection or collections desired will be sent over to England by the Academy immediately on receiving the sum fixed for price."

Collections of Oriental Medals (of the *Samanide* and *Tatar* dynasties of the *golden horde*) to be sold by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg.

		Roubles Banco.
No. 1.—337 pieces (3 gold, 294 silv., 40 copp.)	price	2000
2.—264 „ (2 gold, 233 silv., 29 copp.)	„	1300
4.—234 „ (1 gold, 208 silv., 25 copp.)	„	1200
8.—171 „ . . . . .	„	555
9.—158 „ . . . . .	„	474

NOTICE EXTRAORDINARY.—We give the following "notice," which covers the temporary fence surrounding the ruins of the Exchange, because it is, in many points of view, curious.

Notice is hereby given, that any workman who finds any coin, or other curiosities, in excavating the foundations of the New Royal Exchange shall take the same to Mr. H. H. Russell, the clerk of the works, who will keep an account thereof and of the finder's name, and, at the conclusion of the excavation, he will be liberally rewarded. But if, after this notice, any workman is discovered secreting any such coins or curiosities, he will be prosecuted for felony.

18th Nov. 1840.

(Signed) R. & G. WEBB.

This singular document originates in the "*City Authorities!*" Far be it from us to check the endeavours of our city rulers to



lay some claims to the title of conservatives if their pretensions were founded in sincerity; but the above strange advertisement is evidently only issued from some other motive than a wish to preserve the antiquities. The court of common council has been reprobated most justly for its indifference towards the preservation of works of ancient art discovered in the city; but its members, who know little of history beyond that of their respective wards and families for the last two generations, cannot understand what antiquarians would have done, and are too ignorant to be taught; but they want credit for doing something, and hence this *notice*.

We beg leave to ask the committee who have the doing of these things, where the coins and other curiosities (as they call them) are to be found after they once come into their hands? Can they be referred to for any useful purpose? Can they ever again be identified or authenticated? Has the committee for "City Improvements," and the London Bridge committee, ever taken care to preserve, for a scientific purpose, any one object of antiquarian interest found in the city? What has become of the coins and other remains found in digging the approaches to London Bridge? The chairman and members of a certain committee know; and so do we, and one of these days we shall, perhaps, be inclined to tell what we know on the subject.

C. R. S.

*Cork, Oct. 31, 1840.*

COINS FOUND AT DUNGARVAN.—A small hoard of silver coins said to have been found at Dungarvan, County Waterford, was lately brought to Cork; they consisted of about 200 coins, of which about forty were of Edward III. in bad condition, about one hundred and forty of Henry V. and VI., the remainder, about twenty, consisted of pennies of Edward I. and II. struck at London and York, one half-groat of David II., one groat and three half-groats of Robert II., and two Flemish sterlings; the entire came under my inspection, but I only examined minutely 142, which consisted of the following:—

Edward I. Pennies,	London	.	.	3
do.	York	.	.	1
Edward II. Pennies,	Canterbury	.	.	1
do.	London	.	.	1
Edward III. Groats,	London	.	.	9
do.	York	.	.	2
				<hr/>
				17

	Brought over	17
Edward III. Half-groats, London	.	5
do. York	.	2
Edward III. Penny, London.	.	1
do. York	.	2
Flemish sterlings	.	2
Scotch, David II. Half-groat	.	1
Robert II. Groat	.	1
Half-groats	.	3
Henry V. London Groats, with star	.	8
Henry V. and VI. London Groats	.	5
Calais do. annulets	.	48
do. cross crosslet M.M.	.	12
do. cross pierced M.M.	.	7
Half-groats, London	.	1
do. Calais	.	6
Pennies, London	.	1
do. York	.	8
do. Calais	.	2
Half-pence, London	.	10
		<hr/>
		142

Of the groats with annulets at each side of the head, two wanted the annulets connecting the pellets on the reverse, and one had only the pellets in one quarter connected by an annulet. The coins of Henry V. and VI., particularly the groats, were mostly in fine preservation; the other coins almost all in very bad condition.

JOHN LINDSAY.

PENNY OF EDWARD THE ELDER.—A few months since a coin of Edward the Elder came into my possession, which is, I think, an unpublished variety of the very numerous types of that prince; it resembles, both as to obverse and reverse, the coin of Alfred, Ruding, pl. 15, No. 10, having small pellets on the reverse instead of crosses; the legend of the obverse is EADVVEARD REX, reverse BVRNHELIMO, and from its resemblance to the coin I have mentioned was probably struck in the commencement of Edward's reign. It is not a newly discovered coin, having been for some years in an Irish cabinet.

JOHN LINDSAY.

## TO OUR READERS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

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It will be perceived that the present Number concludes the Third Volume of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, which is composed of *three* instead of four Numbers, as heretofore. This has been done agreeably to an arrangement made with the Numismatic Society. The work will in future appear, as usual, *quarterly* ; but it will bear the title of the

## NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE ;

AND

## JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

By the arrangement referred to, Members of the Numismatic Society may, if they please, be provided with the work, on application to the publishers, or to the bookseller, and the payment of *nine shillings* to the Treasurer of the Society, in addition to their annual subscription. Each Member will be entitled to a copy of the PROCEEDINGS, *gratis*, which may also be had of the publishers, Messrs. TAYLOR and WALTON, Upper Gower Street; or of Mr. JOHN HEARNE, Bookseller to the Society, 81, Strand.

*The next number will be published on the 1st April, 1841.*





*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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